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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Leaders, Media React to Bush Disarmament Proposal

Gorbachev: Move 'Completely Positive'

LD2809165191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1515 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Video interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent Andrey Grachev on 28 September; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Grachev] Mikhail Sergeyevich, as has become known, last night President Bush adopted a major initiative on questions of nuclear disarmament. Was this unexpected for the Soviet side?

[Gorbachev] I must say that yesterday I had a conversation with President Bush, and the previous morning he sent me a letter on this question, evidently counting on the fact that I would acquaint myself with the President's proposals on this matter. We held a conversation yesterday evening. I must say, therefore, that really there were no surprises for me. But the main thing, I think, is that there were no surprises for the following reasons:

This is a development of the process that was laid down in Geneva, then in Reykjavik, and that was further developed on Malta, in Washington, and in Moscow. So this is a very important process of nuclear disarmament in which both our countries, possessing the greatest nuclear potential, are taking part, and actively taking part. This process is moving to a new level and a new dynamic. I would say that it is acquiring large-scale significance.

[Grachev] How would you evaluate the significance of these initiatives, at least in their provisional form?

[Gorbachev] I think that without exaggerating at all, our stance, our evaluation of these proposals is positive, completely positive. It demonstrates the adherence of the U.S. Administration and George Bush personally to the process of nuclear disarmament, and, as a result of these proposals, this process I would say is now moving on to the sort of scale which promises a serious advance toward a non-nuclear world.

[Grachev] Have we all understood correctly that it is a matter of unilateral initiatives and that it is, perhaps, the first time that the U.S. side has done this? That is to say, the kind of initiatives that do not require an immediate reaction on the part of the Soviet Union?

[Gorbachev] I understand you, I understand you. This was my first question to the President. I said: Mr. President, please be specific in that you are acting unilaterally as far as your major initiative is concerned. Yes, he confirmed that this was the case. At the same time, both in the letter and in the conversation, the President stressed that naturally they count—and, more than that—they call on us to do, to meet them halfway, to do the same thing, or take similar and commensurate steps.

[Grachev] But our reply is not a condition for the adoption of these U.S. measures?

[Gorbachev] No, no. I immediately told the President that having familiarized myself with the written materials, and having listened to his clarifications, I said immediately that we indeed see it as a major step and a major initiative. I would say that this initiative ranks with the achievements attained during and after Reykjavik.

[Grachev] Do we not have any doubts or questions, in the initial reaction at least? In short, is there no trick here?

[Gorbachev] I must say that at the moment of course it is still too early to assess all these proposals as a whole, especially in specific terms, and this would be too hasty on our part, and I think unconvincing for everyone. Nevertheless, what we know allows us to say, no, this is a serious proposal, but many questions have arisen for me.

The first question: Does this concern the other nuclear powers, primarily, the European ones? For both in the letter and the conversation, all appeals were directed at the Soviet Union. The President said that initially, he has in mind our two superpowers which have the greatest potential. That is one question. The next question I put to him—I read the letter and made notes—I asked a question which in my view I should naturally ask: These large-scale proposals are essentially aimed at effecting very significant cuts, at cutting programs, since the President states that all programs for the creation and perfecting of nuclear weapons are to be halted in the future, apart from one type of missiles. There are other questions which bear witness to the fact that all these programs, linked with nuclear arms, are being curtailed.

Naturally I raised the question of what will happen with regard to nuclear tests. This issue was not touched on in the President's letter. In our conversation President Bush said, yes, this issue is not raised in these proposals, but he and the members of his government have in mind that we must naturally, in the new context, look at this problem as well. I personally take the stance that the possibility is opening up to take an unprecedented step and to come to a mutual halt in testing nuclear weapons. Then the whole world community would be convinced that, yes, this is a new very promising breakthrough.

[Grachev] Yes, these are critical points. But do you think this opens the way or makes it easier in turn for our progress along the road of nuclear and other disarmament, along the road of conversion?

[Gorbachev] I think all this is wholly and naturally connected. But I and the President have agreed, since the subject matter is very complex—and we have a great many questions—I have mentioned this, but I also asked: Does this apply to aircraft carriers, to strategic submarines, and so on. This just illustrates how many questions can still be asked. That is why I and the President agreed that we will find a way that is convenient for both sides in order to bring about complete clarity, and to clarify all the points of this very important proposal by the U.S. President.

We also agreed to act without delay. Consequently there will presumably be some contact, we shall find a method, a form, for cooperating by acting together.

[Grachev] So is it possible to say—one would like to take it thus—that at last not only we, but the West as well, have taken, or have proposed to take, a major step along the path toward that very nuclear-free world that the Soviet side has talked about in its time?

[Gorbachev] Well yes, if one takes the last few years, we have resumed this talk once again, this idea in general of a nuclear-free world, although that topic was always present in movements linked with the struggle for, with the arms race, especially as far as nuclear weapons are concerned; but it is indeed so. In recent years we have raised this, specifically in 1986. But then there followed years during which we worked together, and in the present case I think we will equalize the tally. In Reykjavik we put forward large-scale proposals. Without Reykjavik and everything that was done after it, this would not have been possible. On an even wider plane, we will say directly: Such an initiative would not have taken place and would not have made its appearance, either from our side or the U.S. side, if we, within the framework of the new thinking had not moved away from and bid farewell to the cold war and started to move in the direction of a lengthy peaceful period, toward the building of new international relations. So all of this is interlinked. I hope we are witnessing a major event which promises the world hope, great hope, for a nuclear-free world.

Gorbachev, Yeltsin Welcome Initiative

OW3009000791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2155 GMT 29 Sep 91

[From "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Gorbachev speaking on national television on Saturday indicated his country's positive response to Mr. Bush's latest initiative on nuclear disarmament including ground and sea-launched short range weapons, strategic bombers, and long-range missiles.

For his part, the Russian President Boris Yeltsin who also welcomed the U.S. new move had called for appropriate large measures by the Soviet Union, his press officials informed. Russia, said Yeltsin, intends to take part in working out concrete measures to recopricate Mr. Bush's move.

Yeltsin, Bush Discuss Proposal

LD2709204691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] A telephone conversation took place this evening between RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush. The new major initiative of the U.S. side on issues of nuclear disarmament in relation to sea- and land-based nuclear tactical weapons, strategic bombers, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and other measures in reducing the nuclear arsenals and strengthening stability were discussed in the conversation.

Boris Yeltsin highly assessed these proposals and spoke in favor of substantial measures to be undertaken by the Soviet Union. He stressed that the U.S. proposals are timely and in accordance with the new level of trust and the changes that have taken place in Russia and in the USSR as a whole. Russia will take part in working out concrete steps in the military sphere in relation to this initiative, stated the RSFSR president.

Pankin Sees 'Full Support' From USSR

LD2809163591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1516 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] UN, 28 Sep (TASS)—Boris Pankin, USSR foreign minister, has welcomed the U.S. initiatives in the field of disarmament. In this connection, the Soviet minister made a statement for representatives of the mass media in New York today.

"Proposals connected with the radical reduction and elimination of whole types of nuclear weapons and, in the first place, of all tactical weapons, represent an opportunity to change in a fundamental way the whole character of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in such a key field as nuclear disarmament," Boris Pankin said.

"The unilateral measure as well as measures demanding our mutual actions will certainly find full support on our side, and they give evidence to the fact that our relations are irrevocably coming out of a period of confrontation and that they are based on close interaction and friendship," the minister stressed.

Pankin: 'New Impetus' to Disarmament

LD2809185891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1703 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations, 28 Sep (TASS)—"The Soviet Union will take commensurate measures in response to the measures undertaken by the U.S. in the disarmament sphere," USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin said in New York today.

He welcomed the U.S. initiatives, presented by U.S. President George Bush on Friday, in the disarmament sphere. In this connection the Soviet minister made a statement for representatives of the mass media.

"Proposals connected with radical reduction and elimination of whole types of nuclear weapons, and primarily all tactical weapons, represent an opportunity to change in a radical way the whole character of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in such a key field as nuclear disarmament.

"Measures of unilateral character as well as measures demanding our mutual actions will certainly find full support on our side, and they give evidence to the fact that our relations are irrevocably coming out from a period of confrontation and that they are based on close interaction and friendship.

"A world without weapons is are our ideal. And today we are saying together with the U.S., in essence: Farewell to the theory of nuclear deterrents. There can be no doubts that the Soviet Union will respond in a commensurate way while bearing in mind the lack of symmetry in our military mechanisms, to the measures that have been announced by the United States. We state with satisfaction that the nuclear dialogue, thanks to the proposals put forward by French President Francois Mitterrand, which were mentioned by President Bush, is becoming a kind of quartet. This also meets the needs of our time.

"These days here, in New York, during a conversation with President Bush and during talks, which lasted for many hours, with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, we came to an agreement on a fairly tight and concrete schedule for negotiations on the whole complex of disarmament issues.

"Undoubtedly, the statement made by President Bush yesterday will give a powerful new impetus to speeding up these negotiations and decisions which are to be taken.

"As a human being I was touched by the fact that President Bush linked his proposals directly with those radical democratic changes which have been taking place in our country since our people rejected the putschists and smashed this attempt to turn the development of events in our country to the past. The world justly says now that the proposals by President Bush are a dramatic peaceful challenge. I would add that they are also a reply to a challenge which was made by the Soviet people and the Soviet Union who embarked on the road of democratic development and of turning into a civil society and law-governed state".

Due to a tight schedule of talks with his colleagues from different countries the minister could only reply to one question, that is, whether he was surprised by this U.S. initiative:

"I was not surprised when I was listening to President Bush because the U.S. side informed us in advance about the proposals it would make. President Bush informed President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin about this and I had a detailed conversation concerning the U.S. initiatives with my opposite number Baker well in advance. On the whole, it proceeded from all our contacts here, in New York, and earlier in Moscow that something important was to happen and something important expected. Let us hope that in the near future we will be able to sit down at the negotiations table also regarding the elimination of nuclear tests. In light of the proposals by President Bush this becomes already, in my view, an absolutely natural step".

Boris Pankin noted that Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow will comprehensively set out the Soviet position on President Bush's speech.

Shaposhnikov Welcomes Initiative

LD3009055991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0415 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo, 30 Sep (TASS)—USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has welcomed the proposals by U.S. President George Bush aimed at major reductions in the nuclear arsenals, describing them as a very strong initiative. It is especially gladdening that the United States no longer regards the Soviet Union as its "main enemy," the minister noted in an exclusive interview published today in YOMIURI SHIMBUN, the first interview with the Japanese mass media since he replaced Marshal Dmitriy Yazov, head of the Soviet defense department, who was a member of the "gang of eight" putschists.

If things keep moving in the direction of eliminating tactical nuclear weapons, Shaposhinkov noted, then that may have an effect on a reduction in strategic nuclear armaments as well. The arsenals of such weapons, the minister thinks, ought to be lowered to a maximum low level, paying priority attention not to strength but to rationality. He expressed the opinion that it is necessary to set up a group of experts in the interests of implementing Bush's proposals, which would specifically study the qualitative differences in the Soviet and U.S. arsenals of strategic weapons. We should also take into account the problem of nuclear tests, as well as the nuclear weapons possessed by other nuclear powers, primarily England and France. The USSR defense minister stressed the need to preserve the principle of unity in the Soviet Armed Forces. Touching upon the question of their number, which is 3.7 million men at present, he said that 3 million men is the realistic figure that presents itself for the foreseeable future. Further reductions will depend on the course of the reforms in the USSR Armed Forces and on the talks on the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe.

Replying to a question about "the Northern Territories"—the group of islands in the southern part of the Kuril ridge for which Japan is contending with the Soviet

Union, Shaposhnikov said that he agrees with the position of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, who put forward a staged plan to solve the territorial problem in January last year. He supports the intention recently expressed by the Russian leader for speeding up the settlement process. He spoke out against the formula envisaging handing over the islands to Japan in exchange for economic aid. The minister pointed out the need for a circumspect approach to this problem and warned against a one-sided solution to it, since this may trigger a chain reaction of territorial claims being made against the USSR on the part of other states.

Karpov: USSR Supports Nuclear Abolition

LD2809095491 Hamburg DPA in German 0912 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The Soviet Union supports the complete abolition of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, says Soviet defense expert and Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov in a BILD AM SONNTAG interview. Karpov, long-standing chief negotiator in the U.S.-USSR disarmament talks, says: "Such prospects are now very realistic because of the political changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union." The transition to cooperation in U.S.-USSR relations is making nuclear weapons redundant.

One of the most reliable ways for promoting abolition is to stop all nuclear tests, Karpov said. Moscow is prepared to do this and calls on all other nuclear powers to follow its example. Other nuclear powers could join the U.S.-USSR talks on the reduction and abolition of nuclear weapons. Nuclear and conventional naval force reduction should also become a subject of the negotiations. The Soviet politician further calls for a convention on the banning and destruction of all chemical weapons as well as a ban of any arms in space. Disarmament is also necessary in Latin America, Asia, the Far East, and the Pacific regions.

Spokesman Sees 'Adequate' Response

LD2809201191 Moscow TASS in English 1955 GMT 28 Sep 91

[by TASS correspondent Sergei Kuznetsov]

[Text] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev considers U.S. President George Bush's initiative to radically reduce the U.S. nuclear arsenal "as crucial not only for relations between the superpowers but for international relations as a whole," Gorbachev's spokesman Andrey Grachev told the U.S. Cable News Network on Saturday.

He expressed confidence the Soviet leadership will soon come up with a detailed reply to the U.S. initiative.

"I'm sure the Soviet Union will take adequate steps in this sphere," Grachev said. He added the Soviet Union will be guided by the principle "warhead for warhead," stressing "we will try not to yield to the United States in terms of courage, boldness and initiative".

Grachev said Gorbachev was "greatly inspired by the fact that new thinking has at last crossed the ocean". "The president, of course, was encouraged by the fact that the idea of strengthening international security along with democratic reforms in Soviet society has eventfully been understood. He has been developing this idea of a nuclear-free world over the last five years," Grachev said.

Spokesman on Reciprocal Arms Cuts

LD2809150791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1424 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—The USSR president has assessed as "extremely positive" the initiative of U.S. President George Bush in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, which he put forward on Friday. This was reported today to journalists at an unofficial briefing by a representative of the press service of the USSR president. Here he cited yesterday's telephone conversation between the heads of the two states.

The briefing was called unofficial because the reprsentative of the president's press service requested that quotations not be ascribed to him. Despite this, the meeting with the journalists was fruitful. Specific and exhaustive replies were given to all questions which touched on the subjects of the briefing.

It was noted, in particular, that Mikhail Gorbachev was able to acquaint himself beforehand with the initiative of the U.S. President after a conversation with J. Collins, the temporary United States charge d'affaires in Moscow—and prior to a telephone conversation with George Bush he was able to consult with representatives of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense. They also gave it a positive evaluation, having noted that this problem demands to be studied in depth. First and foremost, in their view, is the differences in the structure of the nuclear forces of the USSR and the United States.

A representative of the president's press service rejected the term "nuclear republics" which was put forward by one of the journalists in his question. He emphasized that at present it is possible to speak about a "nuclear power" which is the Soviet Union, and about the republics upon whose territory nuclear arms are sited. In his words only the positive reaction of Boris Yeltsin, the president of Russia, is known at present.

At the briefing it was stated that this evening the USSR president is to speak on Central Television, to give an account of his position regarding the initiative of the head of the U.S. Administration.

If one tries to expound this idea in a few words, it comes to a unilateral (and this was underlined and fixed in a telephone conversation between Gorbachev and Bush) decision to eliminate U.S. nuclear land-based weapons located in other countries, and also all U.S. nuclear shells and warheads of ballistic short-range missiles. The U.S. President pointed out that he calls on the USSR to follow this example. According to a press spokesman, this step will be reciprocated.

Spokesman on U.S. Stance on Test Ban

LD2809142491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Excerpts] A spokesman for President Gorbachev has told newsmen in Moscow the Soviet Union will reciprocate President Bush's decision to slash the national nuclear potential.

The spokesman said President Gorbachev has been informed about the coming U.S. move in advance and had discussed it with top Foreign and Defense Ministry officials.

The foreign and defense ministries had favored the move. [passage omitted]

The Soviet spokesman described the U.S. move as another step toward a nuclear-free world, and a result of joint Soviet-U.S. efforts. He wished other nuclear powers followed suit too. And he appreciated attention other nations have paid to the unilateral Soviet steps for disarmament.

He informed newsmen that in a telephone conversation with President Gorbachev, Mr. Bush had indicated his country was ready to negotiate a nuclear test ban.

PRAVDA Calls Bush 'Bold,' 'Farsighted'

PM2909195591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Single Edition p 4

[V. Gan report: "George Bush's September Surprise. What Prompted Amendments to White House's Global Strategy? Major Cuts in U.S. Nuclear Forces Promised. Washington's Opinion: Now Moscow Has To Respond"]

[Text] Washington, 29 Sep—When U.S. President G. Bush stated on national TV Friday evening that the world is changing at a fantastic pace and that each day is writing a new page before the ink on the previous page has dried, those words could have been equally applied to the United States itself. After all, as recently as late July, before his trip to Moscow, Bush told us Soviet journalists that he would not be taking any bold initiatives in the arms control sphere. It was thought that, following the START Treaty, there would need to be a kind of time-out before we moved ahead. Only a few days ago the President's concept of a "new world order" had comprised mainly abstract arguments and was clearly short on specifics.

Now, it seems, a lot has changed. The initiatives just announced by Bush allow us to talk without any exaggeration about a revision of U.S. strategic doctrine and its postulates, which have remained untouched for four decades. The White House incumbent has essentially proposed a new agenda for international perestroyka.

The general outlines of the program proposed by the President are as follows: The United States will withdraw from Europe and other parts of the world all its tactical (short-range) nuclear weapons and nuclear artillery shells, the entire arsenal of which will be destroyed. All tactical nuclear missiles—including cruise missiles—will be removed from ships and submarines and from land-based naval aircraft.

ICBM's due to be destroyed under the Soviet-U.S. START Treaty will be stood down from alert status even before that treaty is ratified or comes into force. For the first time in many years U.S. strategic bombers' round-the-clock alert status is being revoked—this was done Saturday—and their nuclear weapons are being placed in storage. Programs to develop [sozdaniye] new tactical missiles and mobile ICBM's are being abolished. Talks are planned with Moscow on destroying all missiles with multiple nuclear warheads.

Having said that the United States can now take unilateral steps to "make the world less dangerous than ever in the nuclear era," G. Bush appealed to Moscow to make "equally bold" decisions. In conversation with journalists a senior official administration spokesman, who wished to remain anonymous, said that a lot of the President's program could be canceled if our country refused to respond in a reciprocal manner. However, in an interview with ABC TV, Defense Secretary R. Cheney spoke quite confidently, expressing hope for a "very good reception" for the U.S. initiatives from the Soviet leadership.

It has to be said that the first statements by spokesmen for M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin seemingly reaffirmed the justification for such expectations. But, despite its positive assessment, the Soviet president's comment Saturday that it would take time to carefully study the U.S. proposals made many people here moderate their euphoria. Although the comment was fair enough, it is hardly appropriate to speak off the cuff on such complex and involved issues.

So how should we nonetheless view the political watershed which the Bush decisions mark? What lies behind the U.S. leadership's "September surprise?" To begin with, of course, everything rests on the obvious fact that the Soviet Union has changed beyond recognition during the years of democratic transformations and even since the three famous days in August.

In other words, Washington has recognized that we have really changed so much that it is an irrational anachronism to keep pointing the nuclear pistol at us. The bankruptcy of the totalitarian system has raised the question of elaborating new political approaches and seeking a fundamentally new level of Soviet-U.S. and international cooperation.

Judging by official statements, the administration is now worried—and this, it is believed, was one of its motives—about the reliability of controls over the Soviet tactical nuclear weapons arsenal. During the putsch in Moscow local officials were playing down in every possible way their concern that these arms could fall into the "wrong hands." The Soviet undertakings on this score were reassuring, but not entirely so.

"The new leaders in the Kremlin and the republic are now questioning the need for their huge nuclear arsenal," G. Bush said. "The Soviet nuclear stockpiles are now more of a burden than an instrument of national security." One of his advisers somewhat amplified the President's statements, adding that Washington had recognized the readiness of Soviet reformers—specifically new Soviet Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov—for far-reaching agreements with the West.

...On the whole, the White House initiatives have been greeted very positively in the United States. From the standpoint of purely domestic political considerations—and the election campaign which will choose both the U.S. President and the makeup of the Senate and House of Representatives in November next year is essentially under way—Bush has clearly outmaneuvered the Democrats. The White House has undoubtedly put a stop to any accusations from the Democratic opposition of "slowness" or a "lack of imagination" in the face of the crisis in the Soviet Union.

Understandably, the Republicans are praising the President's statement, calling it, in the words of their Senate leader R. Dole, "yet another step to turn the promise of a new world order into concrete reality." Well, U.S. public opinion also favors such assessments. Realistically speaking, it is giving Bush a free hand—according to the latest figures from a joint WALL STREET JOURNAL and NBC poll, around 50 percent of Americans believe that the United States could halve its military spending by the year 2000 without detriment to its security.

There is no doubt that in putting forward his program G. Bush has shown himself to be a bold and farsighted politician who has laid to rest the widespread stories about his being a timid and irresolute figure. His initiatives tightly combine objective reality, an understanding of our huge and severe problems, and concern for his own political survival. This tight bundle has made it possible for us to have in hand the first and highly important Western response to our own acute and sometimes unpredictable changes. As people say here, "the ball is in our court"—and a lot will depend on Moscow's response.

Observer Hails 'Unprecedented' Plan

LD2809112791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1042 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By TASS international observer Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—Every cloud has a silver lining. The August events in the Soviet Union, having scarcely checked the processes of perestroyka, then resulted in the USSR's disintegration into sovereign republics. This aroused well-founded concern in this country and abroad, but along with this it has sped up progress along the path toward a safer non-nuclear world. In the first place it is the consequences of these very events which have obviously prompted George Bush, the U.S. President, to put forward an unprecedented initiative in the sphere of the reduction of nuclear weapons.

This concerns a television address made by the head of the U.S. Administration, in which he stated his intention to eliminate U.S. tactical land-based nuclear weapons sited in all countries of the world. The Pentagon is also dismantling all tactical nuclear weapons on surface vessels and strike submarines, as well as on naval aircraft.

In Bush's speech there is the clearly discernible hope that the Soviet leaders will adopt similar measures. There can be no doubt that there will be measures in response, and not only because Soviet officials have already reacted positively to his proposals. It is no secret that leaders both at the center and in the republics are seriously concerned over the presence of the vast nuclear arsenal, and so the unilateral initiative taken by the chief of the White House is most timely. In short, a further element, which was lacking after the recent signing of the strategic arms reduction treaty in Moscow by Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, will form part of the foundation for the building of a safe world through the efforts of the two powers.

Washington's fundamental review of military strategy must have a positive effect on the situation throughout Europe. It is not fortuitous that the leaders of Great Britain, France, the FRG, and other NATO countries have backed Bush's new initiatives. It is now important that the United States' European allies also review their plans in the arms field more radically.

Washington Correspondent on Speech

LD2809210191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent B. Kalyagin in Washington; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a report from Washington with details of the Bush initiative.

[Kalyagin] With the aim of lowering tension, the head of the U.S. Administration has ordered that the state of heightened combat readiness be revoked for all U.S. strategic bombers and a part of their ballistic missiles. The U.S. President has declared the intention of the U.S. side to accelerate the fulfilment of the treaty signed in Moscow on strategic offensive weapons, and to eliminate those nuclear systems subject to cuts earlier than the fixed deadline.

George Bush has proposed that the Soviet Union begin negotiations on the total elimination of intercontinental ballistic multiple warhead missiles. At the same time, the head of the White House has come out in favor of the limited development of systems of nonnuclear antimissile defense.

Now Washington is awaiting the reply of the Soviet leadership. If the Soviet Union undertakes adequate [adekvatnyye] actions, then, as President Bush said, further cooperation is inevitable. [Video shows front page of today's NEW YORK TIMES, Stealth bomber in flight, Bush and Gorbachev signing treaty, intercontinental ballistic missile launch, Kalyagin in front of White House]

Worldwide Issues

Pankin Holds Talks With Counterparts at UN

U.S., Chinese, Israeli Ministers

LD2809122391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0916 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Excerpts] New York, 27 Sep (TASS)—USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs B.D. Pankin continued meetings here with his colleagues who are participating in the work of the 46th UN General Assembly session. At the brief second meeting between B.D. Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker which took place yesterday, the results of U.S.-Soviet contacts in New York were summed up, and a few guidelines for the future were outlined.

A detailed conversation took place between B.D. Pankin and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. The ministers exchanged information about the situation in their countries, and confirmed intentions to continue developing good relations between the great neighbors, the USSR and China, on the basis of documents adopted at the highest level. It was noted that maintenance of ties on two levels—Union and republican—is in line with the new conditions in the USSR. The ministers conducted a broad review of the entire Soviet-Chinese agenda: of trade, economic, and border issues, and of negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and confidence building in the military sphere. The approaches expressed in discussing international problems were in many respects similar, the main attention being given to an analysis of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region. The ministers expressed satisfaction in connection with the reaching of an accord on a settlement in Cambodia, in which no small merit belongs to Soviet and Chinese diplomacy. [passage omitted]

B.D. Pankin had a conversation with Israeli Foreign Minister D. Levi. An exchange of views took place about approaches to a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. It was noted that bilateral Soviet-Israeli relations are developing well. There are no obstacles for the restoration of diplomatic relations. But, as was noted from the Soviet side, by that time we would also like the general atmosphere in the Middle East region to be as appropriate as possible. The closer we get to the conference on the Middle East, the better the atmosphere will be.

Saudi, Greek, Iraqi Ministers

LD2909131691 Moscow TASS in English 1214 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] New York September 29 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin on Saturday continued his working meetings with participants in the 46th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The need for Iraq to comply with all U.N. Security Council resolutions on a post-crisis settlement was pointed out during Pankin's meeting with Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal.

The importance of efforts being made towards convening a Middle East peace conference was emphasised. Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states are prepared to attend as observers the first phase of such a conference and as full members at subsequent stages when common regional problems will be discussed.

The problem of a political settlement in Afghanistan was considered in detail. The Saudi side reaffirmed support for the U.N. secretary-general's plan and the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Afghanistan. The two sides achieved a high degree of mutual understanding to help opposing sides establish a mechanism for political settlement and form a transitional government.

Interest in further development of Soviet-Greek relations was expressed during Pankin's meeting with Greek Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras, and hope was expressed for an early ratification of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Greece, signed during the summit in July. The problem of a settlement of the problem of Cyprus was also touched upon.

Pankin met his Iraqi counterpart Ahmad Husayn Khudayyir at the latter's request. The talk was straightforward and frank. The Soviet side stated that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait had cast a shadow on Soviet-Iraqi relations as well.

"We could not fail to notice that the Iraqi leadership welcomed the anti-constitutional coup attempt in the USSR," Pankin said. At the present stage the Soviet Union's policy is to firmly press for undeviating compliance with U.N. Security Council resolutions on Iraq. The Soviet side is very seriously concerned over Iraq's actions in connection with these resolutions, he added.

The Iraqi minister expressed regret over Baghdad's reaction to the putsch in the Soviet Union, describing this as a mis-step brought about by the difficult situation in which Iraq had found itself.

He maintained that Baghdad did not question the necessity of compliance with all U.N. Security Council resolutions. It believes that the implementation of these resolutions should be unbiased. Husayn Khudayyir voiced hope that the time will come when Soviet-Iraqi relations come back to normal.

In prospect for the future, Pankin said, "we are of course, for good, mutually beneficial relations. For these relations to revive, it is necessary that Iraq strictly meet all its commitments and become a respectable member of the world community."

Mutual intention to develop relations in all fields, including financial and economic cooperation was reaffirmed during Pankin's meeting with H. bin Tariq Al Sa'id, Omani deputy foreign minister for political affairs.

The post-crisis situation in the Gulf was considered and the prospect of a just Arab-Israeli settlement was discussed.

Pankin and Tariq Al Sa'id signed a protocol on consultations between the two countries' foreign ministries, envisaging regular exchanges of views on a wide range of international, regional and bilateral issues.

French, Iranian, Syrian Ministers

LD2709163891 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] New York September 27 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin has held a number of bilateral meetings with foreign officials here.

He has invited the President of Cyprus Georgios Vassiliou to pay an official visit to the USSR late in October. The invitation was accepted with gratitude. The date of the visit will be arranged later. They discussed the problem of a Cyprus settlement and some other international problems.

During his meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas it was stressed that in the current international situation the time had come to further accelerate the disarmament process, especially to reduce stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. Pankin welcomed the activisation of the French disarmament policy. The sides agreed to continue bilateral and multilateral cooperation on those problems. The ministers reiterated their allegiance to the commitments their countries had assumed in the sphere of European politics, as well as the priority of joint actions of all CSCE members.

Pankin and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati expressed satisfaction over the present level of Soviet-Iranian relations, including mutually advantageous and extensive economic cooperation. It was pointed out that the development of contacts between Iran and individual republics of the Union was a positive factor. Velayati welcomed the Soviet-American statement on Afghanistan and said Iran was not delivering arms to the warring sides in Afghanistan and had no intention to do so. The Iranian minister pointed to the importance of this approach. He reiterated Iran's intention to continue to do its utmost for achieving the release of Soviet prisoners of war. The ministers supported efforts of the UN secretary general, aimed at ensuring Afghan settlement.

Pankin and Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' examined in detail the situation with the Middle East settlement and analysed the remaining obstacles on the way to convening a peace conference. The Syrian side expressed hope and confidence that the USSR would continue to play an important role in the peace process. Both sides expressed the desire to develop furter Soviet-Syrian relations, which is in line with the two countries' interests.

Pankin and his Bulgarian counterpart V. Vylkov discussed the situation in the Balkan area. They touched upon the problem of the renovation of the treaty and legal basis of the relations between the USSR and East European countries, including Bulgaria. They also raised some problems of economic cooperation.

The Soviet foreign minister had a meeting with his Polish counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski. They discussed practical aspects of the drawing up of a new fundamental treaty between the USSR and Poland, as well as some property issues dealing with talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. They pointed to the progress achieved in Soviet-Polish trade and economic relations. Some new approaches are taking shape in this sphere. The two ministers exchanged views on the improvement of efficiency of the United Nations Organisation.

Pankin and Canadian Foreign Minister Barbara Jean McDougal exchanged views on the development of events in the two conflict areas—the Persian Gulf and Yugoslavia. They stressed the importance of the coordination of international efforts, including within the UN framework.

Cuban, Nicaraguan, Angolan Ministers

LD3009094591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2023 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] New York, 29 Sep (TASS)—Meetings are continuing between USSR Foreign Minister B.D. Pankin and participants in the 46th UN General Assembly session. Talks took place between Pankin and Cuban Foreign Minister I. Malmierca. The sides compared views on world affairs, and set out the fundamental approaches toward further development of Soviet-Cuban relations. The Soviet side, confirming the political will to preserve the positive potential accumulated over many years of cooperation, pointed to the need to follow the path of profound reform of ties in the political, economic, military, and other spheres, taking realities into account. It was noted that, in removing the ideological aspect of relations with Cuba, the Soviet Union also calls for removing the ideological ingredient from the politics of third countries toward Cuba. Malmierca, having stressed the special importance of relations with the Union, received with understanding the thesis regarding their transformation on the basis of mutual advantage and mutual acceptability. The mutual striving toward continuing dialogue to resolve all specific issues which may arise in relations between both countries was expressed.

Pankin and Nicaraguan Foreign Minister E. Dreyfus exchanged views regarding the Central American situation which has improved markedly of late. Hope was expressed for establishing peace throughout the region. The sides agreed to maintain close contact, including within the UN framework, on regional and world problems. Practical issues of bilateral Soviet-Nicaraguan cooperation were examined.

At Pankin's meeting with the Angolan external affairs minister it was noted with satisfaction that, despite all difficulties, the process of inter-Angolan settlement is strengthening. From the Soviet side, readiness was expressed to continue providing the necessary political support, including within the framework of the joint military-political commission which is operating in accordance with the Lisbon agreements.

Pankin's conversation with Mongolian Foreign Minister Ts. Gombosuren focused on the exchange of information about the internal situation in the two countries. The conviction was expressed that the search for new, up-to-date forms of developing and strengthening Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in various spheres is necessary.

'World This Week' on Bush Proposal, Investments

LD2909213191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1330 GMT 29 Sep 91

["The World This Week: International Review" program with Moscow Radio Observer Viktor Levin; Ambassador Alekseyevich Grinevskiy, chief USSR negotiator to Geneva arms talks; and presenter Yevgeniy Osipovskiy]

[Excerpts] [Osipovskiy] I will begin this program with the problems of nuclear disarmament. Today there is no lack of material on world reaction to the initiative by U.S President George Bush on the unilateral reduction of tactical nuclear weapons. In practically all the countries of the world this announcement has been meeting with the most positive response possible. This was also evaluation by our country. I will ask Viktor Levin, our observer, to report in more detail.

[Levin] The first assessment that Soviet President Gorbachev, president of the Soviet Union, gave to the new U.S. initiative demonstrates that the Soviet Union has reacted to this very positively and extremely seriously. It is true, now, that the questions, of where, how, and under what conditions the leaders of the two great powers will meet or exchange opinions to resolve the questions proceeding from the U.S. President's proposal remains open. But these are, as it were, technical questions, since the main thing has already been said. The main thing, I repeat, consists of the fact that the United States is assuming the boldness to unilaterally eliminate, in essence, tactical nuclear weapons.

We are being called upon to follow this example, and I think that people will not have to wait long for us. Thus, a truly unique situation is being created, when the United States of America and the Soviet Union, without very long and thorough negotiations... I don't want to say in the least that negotiations are not necessary, but nonetheless they are adopting a decision which diminishes, and very noticeably diminishes, the threat of a nuclear war breaking out. And it brings peace closer, taking one more very important step on the way to universal nuclear disarmament.

After all, until now the concept of the first use of nuclear weapons has existed in NATO. NATO strategists explained this concept by claiming that the Soviet Union possesses an enormous quantity, together with the other states of the Warsaw Pact—the strategy still applies to the time when this organization fully existed. So, anyway, it has on its side an enormous quantity of tanks and other land forces and to counterbalance them in the event of a possible attack by the Warsaw Pact on the NATO sphere it will supposedly be necessary to use tactical nuclear weapons first.

And this question, although it manifestly switched a long time ago to a theoretical plane, has concerned many people, since the concept remained and although there had been talk before in NATO on the possible elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, the concept, the strategic setup, so to speak, was preserved.

Now it is being deprived of a material basis, although, actually speaking, the material basis on the part of the other military-political grouping was eliminated much earlier. This is if, so to speak, one looks at the military aspect. Here there is still a number of questions that do indeed require explanation and clarification, and without doubt the military specialists will still have their say.

Today, I would primarily like to draw attention to this decision by the U.S. President. I recall that back in the times of Reagan, the U.S. approached all negotiations on arms control, as they put it, from a position first of trust and then of disarmament. In our country this concept was subject to criticism, but practice demonstrates that, indeed, trust creates a very reliable, very solid basis for arms control and ensures security, I would risk saying even, better than an unrestrained arms race, better than armament.

Just look, while we occupied confrontational stances we and the United States amassed enormous quantities of arms, and so much built up that even now we are capable of annihilating all living things on the earth several times over, and the earth as well. Gigantic resources went on this, gigantic resources which undermined our economy, which are making themselves felt particularly painful in our country, although the United States has not gone through this without a scratch.

And so, it transpires that on the basis of trust it is possible to reinforce security without an arms race, on the contrary, by means reducing arms. This yields an enormous saving in resources while security, I repeat, is becoming more reliable, firmer.

Sununu, White House chief of staff, has said that this initiative is the U.S. President's initiative and is, to a certain extent, also a reaction to the suppression of the August coup in the Soviet Union. Indeed, there is here a direct reason, if you like, a link of cause and effect.

If the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] had emerged on top, having set themselves the task of again throwing our state back into a communist, totalitarian regime, throwing it back to previous times, then of course there could not only have been no question of a U.S. initiative, but we would have found ourselves confronted by a new escalation in an arms race and not disarmament.

This is quite clear, and it is no accident that at the head of this coup were representatives of the military industrial complex, those institutions which, to the detriment of the country, to the detriment of the people, for the sake of their own egotistic, indeed, egotistic parochial interests, were ready to drive us into a new spiral of militarization. And it is even difficult to imagine where this would have ended.

And the rout of the members of the SCSE not only erased out these plans, it confirmed the potential for the development of democracy in the Soviet Union. Confronting us are enormous difficulties. No one is closing their eyes to this. But it is quite clear that the country has changed. And the initiative by President Bush demonstrates that the United States intends to behave completely differently with regard to this country, completely differently.

It is no longer a question here of confrontation. It is a question of support for our country, of an aspiration to provide it with assistance in its resolution of economic problems and political ones as well. And of course, this initiative by the U.S. President has a most direct bearing on the fact that the nature of Soviet-U.S. relations is changing and that the nature of relations throughout the world is changing.

After all, the British, for example, have already adopted decisions corresponding to the U.S. initiative and have announced that they also intend to eliminate their tactical nuclear weapons and eliminate their submarine-based nuclear bombs intended to destroy enemy submarines.

That is, a very broad movement toward the elimination of nuclear weapons has started and, honestly, I don't have any doubts that we also will follow this noble example and also reject tactical nuclear weapons.

I now recall that once Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bessmertnykh, who was then the USSR foreign minister, when preparations for the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons had reached the final stage, expressed the opinion in a conversation with journalists that that would probably be the last such treaty, and now I think one can say that he was a seer.

Now, the most complex problems are being resolved on a different basis. I would say, on a simpler but no less reliable basis. After all, 10 years' work went into the preparation of the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. The experts puzzled over the resolution of the most complex technical problems. Much time was spent on adjusting the balance of interests of the parties, literally to the last milligram. And now, with one decision, President Bush is changing the correlation of nuclear weapons not to the advantage of the United States of America, but creating conditions for nuclear disarmament in one more sphere.

And, of course, that time spent on the preparation of the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons was not for nothing. But this was a time of confrontational politics. Each party sought to prevent the other obtaining any kind of advantage as a result of the reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

Now we are moving to a new plane. To a plane of relations of a different nature. And here the basis... I want to return to the thesis of trust. This trust creates a basis for further progress to liberate mankind from the burden of nuclear weapons.

[Osipovskiy] Thank you. I will add that Marlin Fitzwater, White House press secretary, stated that George Bush considers the interview with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to be a positive reply to his initiative on the reduction of nuclear weapons. [passage omitted]

In Vienna the latest round of negotiations on cutting armed forces in Europe, as well as individual negotiations on confidence-building and security measures, is at its height. The leader of the Soviet delegation is Ambassador Oleg Alekseyevich Grinevskiy. He has given a circumstantial interview to Soviet Radio on the course of the Vienna negotiations, and, among other things said:

[Grinevskiy] I would highlight three basic areas. First, we are evolving a broad concept of future negotiations both on disarmament and on the reinforcement of European institutions.

Second, we are now evolving an agreement on cutting the numbers of conventional armed forces in Europe. If in the last agreement concluded in Paris we agreed on cutting tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles, then now we are attempting to work out an agreement that would limit the number of personnel of the armed forces of the 22 participants in the negotiations.

Well, and finally we are continuing to develop measures of confidence and security for Europe. [passage omitted]

Until now we have been involved, I would have said, in the limitation of the numbers aspect of the arms race. That is, limiting the number of cannons, tanks, artillery, armored vehicles, and so forth. Well, perhaps the time has come to look at the quality aspect of the arms race. [passage omitted]

[Osipovskiy] In our programs we are paying increasing attention to the issue of the foreign activities of the republics which previously were part of the Union or still remain part of it. This is an important problem, in my opinion, since the general position of our country in the international arena should reflect the interests of all the republics. This was not always the case in the past. An international conference on the problems of the development of power engineering and the utilization of energy resources was held in London. A delegation from Russia, headed by RSFSR Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, was among the foreign participants at the conference. Aleksandr Malikov, our correspondent in Great Britain, met with him.

[Malikov] There is an acute thirst in business and political circles of Great Britain for information on what Russia, which is straightening its back, will be like. To some extent this thirst by the British public can be quenched by RSFSR Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's visit to London.

The first day of the conference on power engineering in which he participated, revealed, I would say, a new dimension in this respect toward Russia and its interests.

This is precisely how our conversation with Aleksandr Rutskoy began. It was recorded prior to the interview that he gave to the American TV company CNN.

[Rutskoy] If the name of Russia was not heard at such events before, then it fitted adequately yesterday in the speech delivered by Giscard d'Estaing. It was also mentioned by Shaykh Yamani. The matter is that the British and the representatives of other states that are present at the conference, are interested in actively participating in our economy and actively investing in it. But, as usual, there is a but: The legislative basis does not conform with world standards. Why is this? Because, first, a draft law is prepared by the committee for legislation. Then this is, consequently, cut down to such an extent that the law in the end does not conform to anything. It becomes a pretence.

That is why I had a meeting in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development yesterday, and I came to agreement with the bank's president that he assigned a group of experts, free of charge, that will work on our legislative basis, especially on the issues of finance and investments, as well as on the granting of credits. They will also work on our legislative basis on the issue of insurance companies. Why should this be done? Because nobody will invest or give money if there are no insurance companies?

[Malikov] This is the main question.

[Rutskoy] Yes, it is. It is absurd to talk about certain investments, about the active involvement of Western capital in our economy when we do not have a law on insurance companies. So, these are the obstacles we have to face. Certain obstacles pop up. Why? Because the business managers and entrepreneurs prefer to have a clear picture of the directions in which things are going.

[Malikov] They want to see whether they will get a profit from the money that is invested.

[Rotskoy] Yes, the matter is whether the invested money brings profit. But sometimes very strange questions are asked: Do you intend to sell land so that we can then, so to speak, get down to the development of the economy? I said no to this. And I think that this is the opinion of all our parliament. Moreover, I very well know Boris Nikolayev Yeltsin's opinion on this matter. Thus, there can be no question at all here of selling land to foreign companies. Yet, there can be an active investment of one's capital. This can take place. They are welcome. Russia, on its side, can come forward with unconcluded construction sites, production areas, labor force, and a raw material base. The foreigners could, in their turn, act as investors in one branch or another. And here both sides could get the relevant part of the profits which are agreed beforehand. If we are going to create such an economy and the goods that are produced are in accordance with world standards, then we will go along the road to convertibility of the ruble. This will mean, consequently, that since the ruble is convertable then the profit is also convertible. That is why there are some prospects in this. Yet, being present at this conference, one can see that Western capital has the capability to invest but so far, so to speak, the wish has not been defined. Why? Because they are frightened off currently by our legislative basis and by our instability, our instability.

I have met with various managers and with various leaders, and I put to them the question of stability in the following way: If you really want Russia and the Union to become stable as soon as possible, then investments should be made into concrete programs in order to resolve the problems of food, housing, and consumer goods. This will, strictly speaking, bring stability.

[Malikov] But not the other way round as they...

[Rutskoy, interrupting] Yes, not the other way around when they say: First you stabilize the situation then we will start investing. By what means are able to stabilize things? All these interethnic feuds take place as a result of, as a result of the shortage of food, consumer goods, and housing, and this is one of the symptoms that, so to speak, give rise to the national problem. If our shops were full, the shelves of the shops were full, then nobody would start questioning your nationality, and nobody would go searching for a nation that is to blame for the situation we have come to. Russians cannot be in any way blamed for all this, as some state that the Russians are to blame for everything. No, the Russians are not the root of the problem. The totalitarian structure that we had created over 74 years is to blame for...

[Malikov, interrupting] ...for our economic degradation.

[Rutskoy] Yes, yes. Such are the problems we have to face.

[Malikov] What about problems with food supplies, so to speak? We have so far no judicial (?foundation) here. We should do this ourselves in order to change the situation.

[Rutskoy] Look here, Germany has transferred about 60 billion German marks to us during the last five years. Where have they all gone to? You see, the matter here is to distribute something properly. If it is a credit granted for food then is should be, at least, halved. We can tighten our belts and live, so to speak, restraining ourselves till the next harvest, but then we will be able to approach the next harvest with a, so to speak, range of programs for the small-scale complexes of processing agricultural produce. Why? Because we are losing 38-42 percent of the agricultural produce. If we could managed to use the money and invest it in processing...[changes thought] I am now putting as my main aim, after I have visited Italy, and now that I am visiting Great Britain, the creation of joint stock companies for the production of small complexes for processing agricultural produce, as well as the production of the means of small mechanization and others. Why? Because the most urgent problem we have today in the USSR as well as in Russia is to find a solution to the food problem.

[Malikov] Strictly speaking, Russia had been and still remains, in a wide sense, an agricultural country.

[Rutskoy] Yes. The conference has been an interesting one. There has been a, so to speak, movement toward each other. But on our side, we need to feel responsibility 10 times more than we feel now. Why? Take the USSR-Italian treaty concluded in 1989 at the trade and industrial chamber level. The president of Italy and the president of the USSR supported this treaty. The Soviet side has not fulfilled a single paragraph of this treaty. The credits that were granted to us have not been used? The time is coming up to pay back the credits. You see, all this is stupidity, irresponsibility, and a full [world indistinct]...

[Malikov, interrupting] Where does all the money go to?

[Rutskoy] The money disappears as a result of mismanagement and irresponsibility. Well, I would like to say that the element of money being stolen is present here. I am in favor of tightening responsibility for the fulfillment of one agreement or another, one delivery or another, or one obligation or another. Why? Because we don't look good. Take the matter with the British minister of agriculture. He arrived and was not even met by anyone. He should have been met. An article appeared in THE TIMES on this matter. It was a shame to read this article. People were invited to help to assess the situation—they have great experience in this aspect—and nobody met them. How can one work in such a way? I can not comprehend this.

What is needed is a higher level of measuring responsibility. If an agreement exists then obligations should exist. If there are obligations then there must be responsibility. Only by behaving in this manner is it possible for us to get out of such conditions. The European countries are used to understanding discipline and order. The West understands democracy as the governing of laws and as subordination to laws whereas the majority in our country understand democracy as: I do what I want to do. This should be so. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Baker, Pankin Discuss Bush Speech, Arms Proposal

LD2709184591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1732 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations, 27 Sep (TASS)—An unscheduled meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker took place in New York this morning. Following the meeting, Boris Pankin made the following announcement to journalists: "We talked yesterday and today about a broad range of problems. We had detailed discussions on a timetable for talks on disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. It emerges that in this respect both sides are inclined to be positive and radical. We will be prepared to respond positively to any initiatives from the United States and also ready ourselves for reciprocal initiatives. I hope I will not change my point of view after President Bush has delivered his speech."

It is anticipated that President Bush this evening will announce a series of changes in U.S. military policy and further U.S. steps for reducing nuclear and conventional weapons.

Abalkin Warns U.S. Economists on Inflation, Debt

LD2909134591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2100 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Kolesnichenko]

[Text] New York, 28 Sep (TASS)—The Soviet Union is printing bank notes 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and the country is being flooded with money, with which nothing can be purchased. This was stated by Academician Leonid Abalkin, economic adviser to the USSR president and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economic Institute, who was addressing U.S. economists and businessmen in New York on Friday.

"Everyone in the Soviet Union at the moment wants a wage increase and various other additional payments," stated L. Abalkin. "If we do not do this, then a real social explosion will take place. Therefore, we print money three shifts a day and on weekends. We are even short of the special paper to print it."

In his speech, one of the most famous of Soviet economists stated that, for the most part, what is needed now in the Soviet Union are "consultations and technical aid from the United States and the countries of western Europe." "Without some deliveries from the West, we will simply be unable to survive this winter period," emphasized the Soviet scientist. "At the moment, we desperately need medicines, industrial materials, and foodstuffs."

If effective economic measures are not undertaken now, then by the end of 1991, the Soviet Union's debt will be in excess of 300 billion rubles—15 percent of the country's entire gross national product, noted L. Abalkin.

Canada's Mulroney Urges More Economic Aid

LD3009103491 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By correspondent Dmitry Shishkov]

[Text] San Francisco September 30 TASS—Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called for broader economic aid to the Soviet Union and East European countries in his Sunday speech in California, marking the Stanford University jubilee.

Mulroney also said the United States should substantially expand economic aid to the Soviet Union, to newly independent republics and East European states. He urged the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to soften their stand and provide these countries with enough money to improve the situation in their economies. Mulroney said that international financial institutions could and should pull these countries out of the difficult situation and corresponding steps should be taken already now.

Turning to unrest and disturbances in the Soviet Union and East European countries, Mulroney said the emergence of new independent states would be a tragedy not a triumph if they were motivated only by hatred, if some minorities were subjected to humiliation, if the economy slumped and people suffered from shortages of foodstuffs and medicines, if wars were unleashed to settle old accounts and establish new borders.

The Canadian prime minister believes that democratic achievements in the Soviet Union and East European countries today rest on a very shaky economic foundation.

Mulroney urged the G-7 nations to follow Ottawa's example and loosen restrictions on trade with eastern Europe. Canada is prepared to go even further and employ "zero" tariffs in trade with the new East European states. They will remain in force as long as these countries continue to advance towards democracy and free economy.

U.S., CIA Reaction to Afghan Accord Cited

91UF1212A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[By correspondent Vitaliy Gan: "The Mujahidin Are Left Without 'Stingers' and Kabul Without 'Scuds'"]

[Text] One more irritant has been removed from the agenda of Soviet-American relations: Agreement has been reached in Moscow between the USSR and the United States to halt deliveries of weapons to the warring parties in Afghanistan by January. At the request of the readers, we contacted Vitaliy Gan, our correspondent in Washington. This is what he said concerning reaction in the United States to the agreement that was reached:

Commentators speak of "a new step in Soviet-American cooperation" and of the fact that Moscow and Washington wish to put that conflict behind them. And, of course, they note the "historic nature of the decision," which officially puts an end to our sponsorship of fratricide in that unhappy land.

It is hoped here that everything will proceed in just that fashion. But Americans are, of course, Americans, who approach this most complicated problem almost as though it were a sport—who won and who lost. The fact that two USSR ministers of foreign affairs have been trying to achieve a cease-fire and a repudiation of weapons deliveries for more than a year is only recalled in passing. Stress is laid only on the fact that we have become "more flexible since the attempted coup in August." I personally have no argument with this conclusion. Especially when one takes into account all the injustice of our tragic attempt to force a neighboring country into socialist ways, a country that has its own ancient system of values and purposes.

Some people write that in their joint statement the parties bypassed the key issues of the future of Afghanistan. Our accord alone is by no means sufficient to halt the bloodshed. Saudi Arabia, China, Pakistan, and Iran, who are major suppliers of weapons to the Afghan opposition, are silent for the time being. They believe in Washington, however, that aid from these sources will either decline sharply or disappear entirely following the American example.

THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper reports that the CIA—aid to the Afghan opposition long ago became its largest program at a price of approximately $500-600 million annually—is not feeling particularly enthusiastic with the halt in support of the mujahidin. Even the intelligence agency, however, must take into account realities, which are changing at a dizzying pace. Last year the same U.S. Congress barely approved the CIA's request for $250 million for covert assistance to the forces opposing Kabul. Even supporters of the intelligence community on Capitol Hill recognize that there is no room in the draft of next year's federal budget for such "generosity."

Whatever else, it is clear that now, after the Moscow agreement, the chief questions for the Afghans themselves will be whether they will be able to find sufficient responsibility to put aside past antagonisms and concentrate all their attention on saving the country and on a search for ways to halt the discord that has ravaged it. Or will human blood continue to flow?

China

Steady Development Seen in Cross-Border Trade

LD2909064691 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 29 Sep 91

[By correspondent Konstantin Toporkov]

[Text] Beijing September 29 TASS—Cross-border trade between China and the Soviet Union in the current year continues to follow the trend towards a steady development, the XINHUA news agency reported today with reference to the data of Heilongjiang Province's department for cross-border trade.

The steady development of this kind of trade this year is resultant of a rapid growth in the volume of business operations between the two sides in recent years, the report says.

According to statistics, by the end of August this year, the aggregate scope of barter deals between the Soviet Union and China under contracts signed amounted to 4.28 billion Swiss francs while the scope of trade ran at 619 million francs. In addition, 135 agreements were signed within the framework of technico-economic cooperation, to the tune of 250 million francs.

The majority of key indicators of bilateral trade over eight months of the current year are higher than in the corresponding period of previous years.

Despite the still existing problems in Sino-Soviet cross-border cooperation, which is a natural reflection of the crisis of the domestic market in the Soviet Union, the two sides retain certain optimism and hope for further development of business contacts between adjoining territories.

The two countries' delegations are now holding substantive consultations on that score.

Near East & South Asia

Mubarak Holds News Conference With Gorbachev

LD2709181291 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By diplomatic correspondents Viktor Bezbrezhny and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—Sincerity and trust were the words Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev used to describe the atmosphere of his meeting today with President Husni Mubarak of Egypt, when summing up its results at a joint news conference they held directly after the end of talks in Moscow.

Their talks, which began as a one-to-one conversation, continued with the participation of delegations from the two countries.

In discussing an extensive range of questions relating to processes underway in the Soviet Union, Egypt, the Middle East and the rest of the world, the Soviet leader said the sides revealed great mutual understanding, and they agreed on further cooperation along all these lines, Gorbachev said.

He stressed that special attention had been given to bilateral relations. The presidents agreed that all problems of bilateral relations should soon be discussed within the framework of two delegations.

Gorbachev said he had expressed his personal and the Soviet people's gratitude to the Egyptian president for support and solidarity shown by Husni Mubarak personally, as well as by the government and the people of the Arab Republic of Egypt during the August putsch.

Husni Mubarak said the democratization policy pursued by the USSR is a dependable guarantee of success of transformations in the country.

Mubarak then noted that "we have a feeling of friendship and sympathy for the Soviet Union." He wished the Soviet Union progress and prosperity in its continuing role of a great power with a worthy place in the world arena.

The president of Egypt confirmed that the atmosphere of the talks had been friendly, characteristic of relations between our two countries and his own relations with the Soviet president.

Asked about trade and economic relations between the two countries, the Soviet president said "we interact in solving practical problems. I express gratitude to the Egyptian president for making a number of specific decisions on interaction with a number of Middle East countries—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates—and for lifting some restrictions on bilateral trade.

"We agreed on increasing trade and on revising the clearing mechanism. I believe," the Soviet president said, "all of this will help us solve our problems in regard to the Soviet Union and its actions on the side of forces which [words indistinct] transformations in this country, the preservation and development on a new basis of the huge state in our country. [quotation marks as received]

Mikhail Gorbachev said some Arab countries have already decided to extend assistance to the Soviet Union by issuing it financial credits and credits for the realization of specific projects.

Asked about the signing of an economic agreement between sovereign republics in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev said it will be submitted to the prime ministers of the republics on October 3 in the closing stage of preparation for its signing. Gorbachev expressed hope that it would be signed within the first ten days of October.

When asked about the Middle East peace conference, the Egyptian president said talks would be far from easy, but nevertheless it is necessary to make the first step by convening the conference and beginning negotiations.

It is important, he said, to make efforts and continue the negotiation process in order to reach peace in the region. On the Palestinian problem, Mubarak said it could be solved but it would take time.

The Soviet president pointed to some doubts about the convocation of the peace conference at a pre-set date but expressed confidence that it is possible to set the process in motion.

Gorbachev was pestered with questions, as expected, on "tension spots" such as Tajikistan, Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The president expressed confidence that all parties to the confrontation would pool their efforts to look for ways out in the vein of continuing democratic transformations and reforms, using methods of political analysis and showing maximum good will and quest.

On Georgia, the president rejected accusations made there of "Kremlin intrigues" causing tension in Georgia. "This is not serious," the president said.

He expressed regret that bloodshed had again occurred in Nagorno-Karabakh after the visit by Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev.

"The talks were so difficult," Gorbachev said, "but rapprochement was achieved, so now the word must be kept. Otherwise, another impasse will appear."

He described the tour by the Russian and Kazakhstan leaders as a very important mission and said he would support by all means the realization of agreements reached.

Discusses Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Relations

LD2609133191 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 26 Sep 91

[By correspondent Mikhail Krutikhin]

[Text] Cairo September 26 TASS—The Soviet Union is our friend. We'll never forget the help it rendered to us in the 50s and 60s, Egyptian President Husni Mubarak told TASS before leaving for a short working visit to Moscow.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev started reforms and brought freedom to the Soviet people, and the "people must give their leader a possibility to carry on his difficult mission," Husni Mubarak said.

He warned against illusions among many Soviets that human rights, freedoms and republican sovereignty can bring about a rain of gold from abroad. We have to tell our Soviet friends bluntly that Americans won't give them the desired billions of dollars. We also had some people who were expecting help from the United States, but to no avail. One can't make progress at the expense of the others. To have a decent living, one should rely only on himself, the president of Egypt said.

The Soviet Union has colossal reserves and possibilities to quickly develop the country and return to it "the status of a superpower. The Soviets are clever, strong and industrious people. All they need is a well-calculated and planned programme," Husni Mubarak said.

The Egyptian president said he is against labelling economic systems with "communist" or "capitalist" stickers. I am neither leftist, nor rightist, I take from both sides the best they have for our national economy. I am sure the Soviet Union will follow this way, he stressed.

The president said he was sad when he got the news on the August coup in Moscow. I love the Soviet Union and its people and I was worried by the possibility that the man who gave them freedom can be ousted. When I learned that ordinary people flooded the streets, I realized the coup failed. I remember how Khrushchev was ousted. Nobody came out into the streets then. Now the people showed for the first time they are not afraid and have changed since Gorbachev started his reforms. I was among the first to congratulate the Soviet leader on the collapse of the coup. There should be no dictatorship in the modern world, Husni Mubarak stressed.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin played an important role in those tragic August days, and the Egyptian president said he wished to meet him.

Egypt is completely open to all forms of commerce with the Soviet Union and has nothing that may impede it, Husni Mubarak said. Egypt can also establish direct contacts with republics staying put in the Soviet Union. The government has been instructed to promote all acceptable methods and forms of cooperation with the

Soviet Union, said the president, adding that cooperation will develop despite internal Soviet difficulties which do not allow it to quickly pay the bills.

Egypt is not directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. We stand for peace and justice in the region. "We coordinate our activities with President Gorbachev, as he fully aprehends [as received] all Middle East problems, pays much attention to them and takes a principled stance on their solution," the president of Egypt said.

Pakistani 'Interference' in Afghanistan Denounced

LD2809103791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0850 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—A statement by a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry was officially circulated here today. It says the following: Numerous reports of growing interference from the territory of Pakistan into the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan have been received via various channels in recent days. Specific information is appearing in the mass media about the large consignments of weapons and ammunition, including heavy combat equipment—in particular, tanks and rockets—being transferred from Pakistan deep into Afghan territory. According to eyewitness accounts, many trucks with weapons and ammunition are being sent every day from Pakistan to Afganistan. Such actions only lead to the further escalation of violence and create additional hurdles toward a peaceful settlement in Afganistan. They also go against the official statements made by the Pakistani leadership about their adherence to the political solution of the problem and their support of the statement made by UN secretary general on 21 May 1991.

Such actions arouse special concern today, when in the light of the joint U.S.-Soviet statement on Afganistan of September 19, 1991, a real way toward the rapid settlement of the Afgan problem has taken shape. The Soviet side hopes that the Pakistani Government, in the spirit of its repeated assurances and interest in the earliest peaceful untying of the Afgan knot, will undertake effective practical steps and use every possibility at their disposal to prevent new human casualties and destruction and restore peace on Afghan soil. This is being called for by common sense as well as the beneficial conditions that have now presented themselves for the rapid end of the dragged-out Afgan conflict.

Iraqi Official Denounces U.S. Interference

OW2609225491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1916 GMT 26 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Haleb al-Tamini [name as received], an important official in the Iraqi embassy in Moscow has accused the USA of trying to annihilate the Iraqi people, deprive her of her lawful government, and render her a subject state.

The Iraqi official talked in detail to "DP" about the incident involving U.N. experts in Iraq. He accused them of co-operating with the C.I.A. [Central Intelligence Agency] and of interfering in Iraq's internal affairs.

According to the Iraqi official the U.S.A. is worried that Iraq will fully recover from the Gulf war, and is trying to prevent this. The Iraqi official did not exclude a resumption of the use of force against Iraq.

The Iraqi official, assessing the position of the USSR, expressed the hope that the Soviet government and Soviet people would consider the matter very carefully, and would support justice, and not tolerate interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states."

East Europe

New CSFR Envoy Hopes 'To Deepen' Good Ties

LD2809153491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1330 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Aleksandr Lebedev, the present charge d'affaires, will be the new Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia. He is due to hand his credentials to Republic President Vaclav Havel on 30 September. During today's meeting with journalists, Aleksandr Lebedev said he did not expect this appointment. He said that he wished to continue to deepen the good relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and that he was prepared to be honest with our government always. He also assured that the Soviet Union guarantees the validity of its international treaties, especially the disarmament ones. Aleksandr Lebedev also spoke about Boris Pankin's forthcoming arrival, which will be an independent, official visit of the Soviet Union's foreign minister to Czechoslovakia after 16 years. During his visit, Boris Pankin will meet President Vaclav Havel, Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek, Federal Premier Marian Calfa, and other officials. Boris Pankin and Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, should initial the interstate Czechoslovak-Soviet Treaty, which will thus be ready for signing by both presidents.

West Europe

More on Gorbachev Talk With Germany's Waigel

PM2709151991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[TASS report under general headline: "Official News"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev received German Finance Minister T. Waigel and his entourage 24 September. T. Waigel posed directly the question of the need to immediately implement a large-scale project based on the latest technology, for instance extracting and processing raw materials. The project would demonstrate the effectiveness and mutual benefit of cooperation and would lower the level of risk in the eyes of foreign investors in other spheres.

There was also discussion of using the experience of the transformations in the eastern part of Germany during privatization, destatization, the development of enterprise, and the modernization of the production potential here.

The question of the Germans in our country was touched on, as was the realization of their just demands in respect of restoring their statehood and safeguarding their national development under autonomous conditions. M.S. Gorbachev promised to speed up the adoption of necessary measures.

Economic Union Needed Before EC Membership

LD2909101391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1452 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By international observer Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—In London on Thursday, British Prime Minister John Major told U.S. journalists that the EC member countries should be thinking now about expanding the community, in the long term, to take in the states of eastern Europe and the territories that are currently Soviet republics.

It seems to me that the British prime minister's idea is completely sound. It flows logically from the plans for, among others, the creation of unified economic, juridical, and ecological areas within the continent, and it conforms to the principles of the Paris "Charter for a New Europe." From the point of view of present criteria in international relations, there would appear to be no problem with this.

I am convinced that there will be no problem, either, from the point of view of the new principles now taking shape for relations among the Soviet republics. Major's suggestion strikes me as an attempt to test the resilience of the Soviet republics' national sovereignty. If they are now able to become members of the United Nations, then, following that logic, why should they not become EC members, even if this is not going to happen right away?

I suppose that EC membership for the sovereign states forming part of the renewed Union will be a logical continuation of the USSR's course toward integration with other countries of Europe, including Western ones. Such integration is of great political, economic, and military-strategic importance for the destinies of the whole of Europe and will facilitate implementation of the idea of creating a common European home.

Presently, none of our republics is ready for integration with the EC on any of these counts—either economic, political, juridical, or ecological. They will first have to create a new unified economic area within the renewed union of sovereign states. I am convinced that such an area cannot exist without a common market, a unified currency, unified laws, identical rights and freedoms for citizens, and so forth.

For precisely this reason, attempts by certain Soviet republics to create their own currencies strike me as seriously mistaken, if not to say, ruinous. In the present circumstances of interethnic strife, it is possible to understand the centrifugal tendencies of some of our republics, but I am quite unable to understand Western experts working in those republics, helping them to form their own currencies and halt the circulation of the ruble. I was therefore alarmed to read in the FINANCIAL TIMES about activities of this kind in the Ukraine by a group of Western experts, among them former British Chancellor and Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe. They are acting against the view, prevailing even in the West, that it makes complete sense for the future Soviet Union to remain united in economic, defense, and foreign policy matters.

As the EC's experience vividly demonstrates, economic and political success is possible for such a multiethnic combination as the USSR only through preserving and deepening the processes of integration begun in recent years, not through division and strife.

Radio, TV To Change With Italian Help

LD2909085191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2303 GMT 26 Sep 91

[By correspondent Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] Rome, 26 Sep (TASS)— The new Soviet radio and television can count on the help of its Italian colleagues in enhancing its professionalism, standards, and access to advanced technology, as well as in creating a market and wide audience. This was stated here today by Enrico Manca, president of the Italian State Television and Radio Company, RAI-TV, at a joint news conference on the results of his meeting with Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the State Television and Radio Company and member of the Political Consultative Council of the president of the USSR.

Manca stressed that these projects could be implemented thanks to special financing by the Italian Government, and, in particular, a bill on aid to East European countries, which was currently being debated in the country's Parliament.

Manca said that, under Yakovlev, Soviet television should be restructured primarily with the aim of responding to the new realities of the market so that its work might correspond to the new democratic structure and the new realities in relations between the center and the republics. At an industrial level, Italian industry is able to offer its technology, above all in the field of transmissions and communications. In addition, Manca said RAI-TV would place at Gosteleradio's disposal a series of programs and films it had made. Soviet viewers would be able to see the first ones of these on their screens already on New Year's Eve. He stressed that with regard to exchanges, Italy was prepared to receive from Moscow popular science, musical, and educational programs of a high standard.

The possibility of the exchange of television news and Soviet television's cooperation in the framework of the European news program ("Euro-News") would be examined.

Yegor Yakovlev, replying to numerous questions from journalists, spoke of the plans for the structural transformation of television and radio under the new conditions, of problems facing the collective, of the domestic political situation in the country, and of the role of television in this regard. "Our task is now to break down into smaller units to the greatest possible extent. It is a question of creating independent studios, associations constituting juridical persons, which are independent to a sufficient degree to make programs and offer their acquisitions to the board. Today, after the August putsch, we face a very tough question of release from the television monopoly that existed until 19 August. Up to that day, a situation had taken shape in which at the press of a button television could be switched off on the territory of the whole Soviet Union. That button, in my opinion, is more terrible than the one that is pressed to launch missiles," Yakovlev stressed.

Britain Ready To Help Improve 'Food Chains'

91UF1197A Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with UK Minister of Agriculture John Gummer by A. Burmistenko, TRUD's London correspondent; date not given: "The British Are Prepared To Help"]

[Text] A delegation of leaders of leading British companies engaged in the processing of agricultural output and wholesale and retail trade of food goods will arrive in our country on Sunday, 22 September. The main goal of this mission is to evaluate the situation at the local level and work out a program to modernize the Soviet Union's food sector along the entire chain, from the field to the consumer.

This British initiative is the direct result of negotiations in Moscow between J. Major, prime minister of the United Kingdom, and M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin.

A. Burmistenko, TRUD's London correspondent, interviewed John Gummer, minister of agriculture of the United Kingdom, concerning the position of the British Government on the question of rendering food aid to the Soviet Union.

[Gummer] I am glad that the British food industry has responded with such enthusiasm and speed to the government's appeal to aid the Soviet Union in overcoming the problems of processing, storing, and delivering food. The group of leading businessmen who are traveling to the Soviet Union will evaluate the situation at the local level and give me a report at the beginning of October with specific recommendations. In light of these recommendations, several more groups of experts will travel to individual regions of the Soviet Union to implement specific programs. Of course, it is not in our power to set the food supply right across your entire enormous country, but we will try to create several model "food chains," which then may be reproduced in other regions.

[Burmistenko] What is your opinion in principle of food aid from the West to the Soviet Union?

[Gummer] I believe that large-scale food aid to a second country can and should be rendered in those instances when there exists the real threat of impending famine. But, in general, the problems of your country may not be resolved by constant food aid from without, continuing from year to year.

We see our main task as helping the Soviet Union to resolve its food problems itself, and the most logical first step in that direction is maximum use of that which you already produce. As a rule, the harvests in the Soviet Union are, on the whole, sufficient to feed the entire population. But if half of what has been grown or even more disappears on the way to the consumer, then this is precisely where we must impose order.

[Burmistenko] In the performance of this initiative, do you intend to do business with the central government or with the individual republics and the local organs of power?

[Gummer] My position is clear on this position. First, the Soviet Union and the parts composing it should come to agreement between themselves and decide what they want. Second, it is not so important to us which specific people we will be working with, the center or the republics. It is only important to us that they be energetic, enterprising people who know how to do business and not just talk about it. Unfortunately, in the past we very often came to agreement on something, signed the agreements, but nothing came of it. It seems that now one of the main changes is that the Soviet Union intends to achieve the execution of the decisions that have been made.

[Burmistenko] Are you coordinating your aid program with other countries of the West?

[Gummer] Yes, of course. Prime Minister Major and President Bush of the United States discussed these issues in great detail. There is no doubt that we will coordinate this activity both within the framework of the EEC and among the countries of the "Group of Seven," whose chairman is presently Prime Minister Major. There are, of course, many industrially developed countries prepared to render aid and with which we will coordinate our efforts.

[Burmistenko] Most likely, your experts will recommend the quickest possible privatization of agriculture in the Soviet Union.

[Gummer] To me, agricultural farms can be genuinely effective only if the people working there have a genuine interest in it. It is simply amazing how enthusiasm and labor productivity increase and losses decrease when people are working for themselves and not at someone else's orders.

A certain Russian farmer once wittily noted in a conversation with me that cows are politically unreliable animals. They conduct themselves as nature prompts them and do not wish to follow the orders of the rayon leadership.

Yes, we would like to see the quick privatization of agriculture. Its advantages are perfectly clear to us. But, naturally, this decision must be made by the Soviet Union itself, and the peasants must convince themselves of this. Meanwhile, we will help to save and bring to the stores that which is already being produced. It is completely intolerable that losses reach 70 percent for some types of agricultural production.

WGF Denies Report of East German Food Stocks

LD3009015891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1253 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By correspondent Vyacheslav Katyayev]

[Text] Berlin, 28 Sep (TASS)—In connection with an item published by the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No. 37, claiming that "on the territory of the former GDR there are sizeable stocks of Soviet food and consumer goods, placed there earlier as strategic stocks for the Soviet troops in Germany," the press center of the Western Group of Forces [WGF] asked the rear headquarters for an explanation.

Colonel Vladimir Gorobets, head of the food service, said that, according to the service's accounting information, no strategic stocks of food were being kept for supplying the Soviet troops on German territory. The newspaper's claim, he stressed, has no basis in fact.

WGF Officers To Study Economics, Management

LD3009113591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By correspondent V. Mostovoy; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpt] It would be difficult to imagine a better use for Soviet troops in eastern Germany. It is a matter of the servicemen receiving the latest knowledge. That is no accident. It is not only laid down in the USSR-German state treaty, but also consolidated by the allocation of DM [German marks] 200 million by the Federal Government for these purposes. The Western Group of Forces [WGF] leadership, together with the Soviet Information Center, the Moscow Institute of Aviation Engineers, and the German Isusko Plan firm, have succeeded in opening the first courses for retraining servicemen of the Western group of troops. The courses' aim is to train specialists in economics and management who understand the market's nuances, currency operation, ecology problems, and are able to handle state-of-the-art information technology. It is intended to hold not just theoretical lessons but also practical lessons in German firms. [passage omitted]

Greek Firms Laundering of CPSU Money Denied

LD2909133491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1753 GMT 26 Sep 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Text] Athens, 26 Sep (TASS)—Two firms allegedly belonging to the Communist Party of Greece are being closed down in Athens. The TASS correspondent has learned that starting 1 October, the company VEK, trading in raw materials and chemical goods, and the firm VET, which had been selling clothes and foodstuffs to the USSR, will cease to exist. The same sources, however, claim that they will shortly be set up again under different names and in a "different capacity."

The possibility is not being ruled out here that this decision was made in connection with the scandal that broke out as a result of articles in the Greek and Soviet press, where certain companies of the Communist Party of Greece were accused of "laundering" money for the CPSU. In Greece, the newspaper VIMA wrote about this, accusing the company Transorient Shipping and Trading of "pumping" the party nomenklatura's money into Swiss banks.

There is also another reason being given for the hasty "alteration of the colors" of the companies: a split within the Communist Party of Greece itself, where the radicals splitting from the party are insistently demanding their share of the party's property.

The USSR Trade Mission in Athens denies the possibility of the illegal transfer of CPSU money through Greek firms trading with the Soviet Union or through mixed enterprises. Yes, trade representative Spartak Plaksin admits, our enterprises and associations had been cooperating with some companies belonging to the Communist Party of Greece, but only on a commercial basis. Of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the commission received on these deals went toward the party affairs of the Greek Communists, but the Soviet side had nothing to do with this.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Answers Questions on Economic Treaty

LD2809184891 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Interview with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev by reporter T. Konarova; place and date not given; from the "First Persons" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Komarova] Mikhail Sergeyevich, taking account of the sovereignty of the republics, one can say that a multiplicity of authorities has arisen in the country. In this situation, what real power does the president of the USSR possess, and what are the opportunities for the influence of the Center on the management of the economy?

[Gorbachev] In connection with this, I think primarily of the state council, where the country's president and the presidents, or chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the republics, interact. This body has been invested with the right to adopt decisions on all the practical questions of domestic and foreign policy. In this sense, its instructions, and the decisions adopted by the state council have already brought us to the point where the first stage of the preparation of an economic treaty has been completed. On 3 October the chairmen of the republics will assemble to prepare it for its final signing. Here is the first result for you already. And, after all, this is a major result.

[Komarova] May I put a specific question to you immediately? What do you think—when will it nonetheless be signed?

[Gorbachev] The economic treaty?

[Komarova] Yes.

[Gorbachev] I think that this should all take place in the first 10 days of October. And, incidentally, we have in mind introducing a tradition to emphasize to everyone again that the Union power structures are different from the former ones—primarily by dint of the fact that they unite the forces of the republics—we want to introduce a tradition of arranging the signing of important documents, and, perhaps, meetings, in turn in the capitals of the republics. I think that we will sign this treaty in Alma-Ata.

[Komarova] Next question. The country is in a state of serious civil conflict, which has a tendency toward deepening. What is the presidential stabilization program?

[Gorbachev] I worry about this situation exactly the same as everyone. In connection with this, we nonetheless intend acting in such a way, combining these large-scale issues—the treaty, the union treaty, for one, as well as the other treaty, the economic one, on economic union—which will unite the efforts of the republics and remove tension in society, and besides this, measures of a political and legal nature, simply to remove tension. Thus, within the framework of this process, which has been of such a very lengthy and painful nature, such as the conflict in connection, around, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. I at one time—indeed, that was even before the August events—agreed with the leaders of the Russian and Kazakhstan Republics to get involved in this. And, the main thing, now, is that it is necessary, nonetheless, to set about the resolution of the most difficult issues in all the regions, you know—especially where it is a question of power, of the regrouping of political powers—nonetheless, by means of the law, by constitutional means. I appreciate what you are talking about, because here and there opposition is arising, but if this opposition is carried to confrontation, then we can only exacerbate the situation. I am convinced that we must go along that path which we have set out on now, dealing with those issues which have arisen around the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and I think this refers to every republic. This refers to Tajikistan, and to Moldova, and to other republics where such situations arise. There is no other way.

[Komarova] And the last question. A political consultative council has been set up under the president, which includes people we know very well, and an enterprise council has been set up. What real help do you expect for these councils?

[Gorbachev] The consultative political council represents the opportunity for the president to constantly consult with people who can help the president to come to a correct understanding and appreciation of the situation and the elaboration of correct decisions—and the avoidance of mistakes—by bringing their experience and knowledge, their vision, on a regular basis.

[Komarova] And to exert a certain influence on society on the strength of his authority.

[Gorbachev] Indubitably. Recently I said that I had in mind setting up two councils under the president—and, what is more, they are public councils. They are a council concerning the support and assistance of enterprise. Here, in this council, as it were, all sectors of the economy are represented, but also all these forms of enterprise are represented. Well, and I also have in mind that without fail there should be under the president—as I have already said—a council on land reform. And this also proceeds from representatives of the agrarian sector themselves.

[Komarova] Thank you enormously for the interview.

[Video shows Komarova and Gorbachev]

Silayev Views Economic Committee's Tasks, Future

OW2809003691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 27 Sep 91

["Exclusive" interview with Ivan Silayev by INTERFAX correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov; place and date not given; from the "Nation and Society" feature: "Ivan Silayev: We Have to Build Anew"—first three paragraphs are INTERFAX introduction; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As you may know, the second meeting of the USSR State Council on September 16 attended by 10 (instead of initial 4) republics adopted in the main the treaty on the economic union prepared by G. Yavlinskiy's group.

The State Council appointed Ivan Silayev chairman of the inter- republican economic committee and authorized him to form that body.

Here is an exclusive interview Ivan Silayev has given INTERFAX correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov.

Corr.: Do you think that your Committee can be called a government of people's trust?

I. Silayev: We all have in mind a certain stereotype of this term—government—namely, a council of ministers. But this time we are talking of a different thing. We'll have no government that would rule, or dictate, from the centre. Our inter-republican committee will not be a government in that classical sense. It will rather be a joint executive body working in the interests of the new agreement on economic union. So, I would refrain from describing it as "a government of people's trust".

Corr.: But will it have a chance to aspire to such a name?

I.S.: That would depend on its merit—if we make ourselves useful for the republics in the realisation of their economic agreement, in the implementation of their plans. In the Russian Federation we had a bitter taste of resistance from the former governments of Ryzhkov, then Pavlov. We wasted a lot of energy on confrontation with them. That hampered our progress, naturally. I can guarantee that the future inter-republican committee will work in a different style. We must be needed by the republics, they should feel our support, and have our guidance only when they ask for it. As in sports, with a football referee: if he keeps whistling and stopping the game all the time, all you can see is the referee, not the players, there's no game. But in a real game you hardly see the presence of the referee—that's his skill... The players improvise, display their individual qualities—and things come out good.

Corr.: And what will you do if the republics' governments happen to be displeased with your actions?

I.S.: I don't expect only sweetness and light, you know. Each republic is entitled to its opinion. I have to listen to them, try to understand them, respect their position, and if it's reasonable, persuade the other republics to accept it.

There are sure to be differences and clashes. But in the first place, the economic programme and the agreement provide for three groups—full members, associated ones, and observers. That will enable us to take decision by a majority. Still, we can't have a majority infringing on the interests of those who find themselves in a minority. The situation needn't be hopeless. Suppose, we agree with 5 or 6 republics on a decision. It should not harm the republic that's against it. That republic will simply stay away from that or this process. This should be quite possible. At least, the agreement permits that in principle.

Corr.: Your attitude to Yavlinskiy's new programme is not known. Do you think it should be amended, and how?

I.S.: If you mean the draft economic agreement, I wouldn't call it Yavlinskiy's programme. The draft was presented by the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy. Yavlinskiy's function in the committee had been to prepare it, but it's the Committee's child. We are working actively with the republics specifying details, as might be expected, they have their own views. This is a complicated process. The draft is sure to be amended, but the general approaches will remain unchanged in principle, as reflected in the decisions of the State Council.

Corr.: What steps are you going to take in finance? What should be done to give the rouble more value? Can we expect it to become convertible by next year?

I.S.: Our economic agreement will include certain commitments concerning currency. Not a single currency, mind you, but a common currency. There's an important difference here. Some of the republics may well have their own currency, but our market must have in its economic space a common currency, shall we say—the rouble. And that rouble has to be protected to function normally, and that will oblige all of us—Russia and the other republics—to observe certain basic requirements. This is a vital and grave problem: it's been suggested that each republic will have its own bank, so—decisions should be taken by their consensus. But that's not the world practice. We need a voluntary agreement to create a central bank. Not a state bank, but a central one—with all the republics represented on its board. Then, a bank is a bank, you know. It will provide a basis for common economic policies and for market structures. This is a serious approach, and the republics should pay attention to it when they sign the agreement. The bank will be involved in the questions of the rouble's convertibility, its protection, backing it with enough goods on the market, and so on. These principles are basic for the future reforms.

Now, to the question of Western aid. What we need is not charity, but an inflow of capital. And we can't hope for that unless we have a clearly stated and detailed programme of economic reforms. Such a programme had better be drawn with the participation of Western experts. All our important foreign visitors point to two leading international institutions: the IMF and the World Bank. We certainly wish to join those two vital bodies—they agree to admit us as associated members. Formerly they refused us even that—this is already marked progress. Actually, it's high time we were full-fledged members. Here again we must have an economic agreement—never mind if it's not signed at once by all the republics. Look at the EEC—admission of new members lasts for years. It's good that the republics and the President are determined to sign the agreement as soon as possible. We have to build anew, to work creatively—and that can be done only on certain principles. A participation of Western experts in that process is indispensable if we are to be incorporated in the world community.

Corr.: Your predecessor V. Pavlov scared off Western investors in his interview vith the newspaper TRUD by accusing them of trying to undermine us. What's your attitude to foreign investments? What will you do to attract them?

I.S.: It's not for me to criticize my predecessors, but the whole world was disturbed by that pronouncement. As I said before and insist now, I can't think how we could get back on our feet in all this economic chaos without any outside help. Not that this is physically impossible. Maybe in 10 years we could do something. But to begin with, no government will hold out 10 years in these conditions, the people will not tolerate an endlessly deteriorating situation. Without support from developed countries enjoying a high level of economic prosperity, without their capital, the process of our recovery would be long and fraught with tragic eruptions. That means we have little time. We need a massive joint programme of large investments in our economy. That wouldn't be charity. With a well-appointed civilized system of capital flow we could soon curb the present crisis, and then the Soviet Union—Russia and the other republics—would be able to compensate the investors.

Corr.: Let's take up another complicated problem—conversion. It's obviously impossible to solve it, as we tried, in one bold stroke. How are you going to reform the military- industrial complex and will you invite Western companies to cooperate in that field?

I.S.: Yes, we are going to do that—I mean your second question. We have very promising offers. There are five or six ways of solving the problem of conversion suggested in the West, in the United States. We'll certainly take them into consideration. Our economy has been militarized for over 70 years, so the defence industries have the best we could afford. Our primary aim is now to channel speedily those best forces into the consumer market. We must revamp the whole structure in the normal process of market reform. Therefore, we have no intention to revive the Military- Industrial Commission. We'll have none of that, I guarantee. The Defence Ministry is our chief source of orders for weapons. Those state orders will be placed with enterprises. Orders for research and development, or experimental design, or weaponry according to the accepted norms and allocations. In a word, a client and a contractor. The Defence Ministry may deal with the main contractor through an intermediary. Not the way it used to be when the Military-Industrial Commission took practically all the decisions for the plants—planned, directed and dictated. We'll have no more of that. No monsters like that will be allowed to press on the economy, dictate its development—I guarantee. That would go counter the principles of market relations.

Corr.: The pauperization of our people has gone beyond all limits. The store shelves are empty, the prices are incomprehensibly high. Don't you fear an explosion of public resentment?

I.S.: Yes, this possibility shouldn't be underestimated. No foreign aid would do us any good in such a case. The danger will loom until we start supplying food through new structures, such as family farms, privatized trade, new systems of storage and processing.

But...all that will take time. And the people have to live now. To fill the market with goods we must immediately throw open our economic borders and let in imports. Not state-purchased imports, as before, but Western suppliers bringing in their goods. We must give them the necessary economic preferences and even allow duty-free trade in food, consumer goods, farm machinery, and medicines. We have to do it as soon as possible. The incentives should be made strong enough by removing all sorts of duties, tariffs, and so on. We are not risking our industries being swamped since we have so little that we can import for several years without fear that our light, or food industries would be ruined. As soon as we see that the competition is dangerous for our industry, that it is stifling domestic production, we'll put on brakes. The mechanism is known well enough and has been tried out many times.

Next, we are to encourage farms. We have assessed the results of the first stage of our land reform and we see that our legislation is not enongh to develop farming. First, we deny a right to sell land, then we provide insufficient finance. We began with allocating a billion roubles and were proud of that, but that's a miserly sum. We must give a bold support to farmers. We feared that few people would risk farming, that the peasants' instincts had perished under these crushing 70 years. Nothing of the kind—a crop of 30 thousand new farms in this short time is a reality to reckon with. But we need 300 thousand! That would require machinery, fertilizers, and investments—lots of them. We'd better sell pre-fab farms, and things like that. And the very first farms, mind you, have proved their value: they are effective, productive, they work for market, achieve good yields and high quality—much better than what we had. In fact, 70 of potatoes in Russia are privately produced and only 30

by the collective and state-owned farms. And we have a hard time campaigning and mobilizing labour to harvest those 30

. We wouldn't have to do so, if we had them in the private sector.

Corr.: A new business community has been emerging here lately and making its presence felt. There was much ado about Moscow businessmen withdrawing from the capital. Are you going to show that the government still holds the reins, or opt for talks and compromises?

I.S.: I have always been in favour of private enterprise and will go on supporting it by word and deed as long as I am in office. This support has to be incorporated in legislation, in regulations. We must naturally guard against predatory swindlers, we have enough of them, and they should be dealt with though the law, the courts. But if we speak of free enterprise, anyone should be able to start a business and have our encouragement and protection.

What has happened to Moscow's business? It's clear that some of the decrees and resolutions issued lately in this field need correction. At least, there should be one law for all. Moscow has a free city's status. The city has its own government, it's a sort of state with its own legislation. But it should not be free to stretch the national laws. Those laws are meant to encourage business activity, private enterprise, and protect them. If this is observed, our economic stabilization will take a shorter time. On the other hand, it's wrong for entrepreneurs to declare ultimatums—we'll leave Moscow, let it suffocate without us. They have a right to a strike, though. But if a mistake was made, shall we stem the emerging process of business development or even reverse it? It's better, of course, to avoid mistakes, but if we do blunder, we must seek ways to correct our errors as soon as we can.

Corr.: You will work now under Mikhail Gorbachev. What relations have you with him? Will your team be effective?

I.S.: When I volunteered at the emergency session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet to go to the Crimea to meet with M. Gorbachev, I had two principles in mind. First, the constitutional rights, the need to put down the coup and the illegal Emergency Situation Committee. Second, I was eager to help out M. Gorbachev as a man, out of human sympathy. However much we criticize him, we should never forget that without him we wouldn't be where we are now—remember that. He had a full chance to live on comfortably without changing anything, but he gave up that security and plunged into an uncertain future full of dangers for him—that was a great deed. If only for that, he deserves respect and consideration. It's his personal tragedy that he trusted scoundrels and skunks, that he ignored honest advice. But he's been punished enough by the mortal danger in which he found himself. And I think he's made deep conclusions from that. His resolve and energy to act radically are quite sincere. If he has no scoundrels and traitors around him, we can be sure he will lead the new economic union much more effectively.

Corr.: What can you say about your transfer from the RSFSR to the USSR level and why did Boris Yeltsin give you up at this crucial moment?

I.S.: Don't misunderstand me. All my previous work in Russia's government was a struggle. Much energy was unfortunately consumed by confrontation, by arguing for the reforms. I wish we had no more obstacles, and now we have a real chance for that. We have crushed the conservative fortress. What's next? The former stronghold might be rebuilt, if we had new leaders without that experience of confrontation. I have a right to say so, I have been through that grueling mill. I will guard against the restoration of the old system, I set it as my goal. Still, some people might think, "Didn't he say he would never give up his job in Russia's government, and now—look at him—he's reversed and has other thoughts", and they'd be right, in a sense. I refused at first and Boris Yeltsin backed me. But upon much thought and discussion between Yeltsin and Gorbachev and other presidents it was decided to trust this Committee to me, and the initiative belonged to Yeltsin. He was sorry to give me up, but he stressed that the future of the new economic union—and of Russia too—largely depended on the person who leads this committee. "I'm sorry, but you'll have to go", he said.

Barannikov Comments on Interior Ministry's Role

LD2909162991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1545 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Remarks by USSR Interior Minister Viktor Pavlovich Barannikov in Moscow with introduction and interspersed remarks by announcer; date not given; from the "Man and Law" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our Man and Law program begins by presenting the new Union minister of internal affairs. [Video shows Barannikov entering Ministry building; seated at desk]

[Barannikov] One task facing the ministry and internal affairs staff workers is the fight against crime. Therefore it is necessary to create a course of action, or rather, to strengthen the already existing course for combating crime and to set specific tasks and provide the technical equipment and professionals. [passage omitted]

Of course, first and foremost the internal affairs bodies must not participate in the political process. That is to say the main task for internal affairs staff members is to perform their job and their professional work. That is their main task. There must be no political—well, how shall I put it—involvement, perhaps. There must be no political involvement.

[Announcer] What else is of concern to the minister?

[Barannikov] I am very anxious that the National Guards do not end up in the hands of political adventurers and that these National Guards do not end up being a mechanism for such politicians to pressure the people.

[Announcer] A professional remains a professional and quickly adapts to his new rank, especially since there was virtually no time for a smooth entry into office.

From the very first days there were meetings with the leaders of law-enforcement departments from the republics with which until quite recently we constituted a single whole. Important documents were signed on interaction in combating inter-regional crime. [Video shows Barannikov meeting people and signing documents]

We are all united by professional solidarity, the minister says, and there too the pages of IZVESTIYA go on to say: Daily painstaking and professionally informed work is needed to return to the people a belief in legality and justice and to create confidence in the impossibility of a return to totalitarianism, arbitrary acts, and physical and moral terror. People currently believe in us. We have no right to let them down.

Minister Barannikov has just met with President Yeltsin of Russia and President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan on a peacemaking mission between the warring sides in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Barannikov] There already are views among us that we should not be called the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. We now think that there will be a committee or else there will be another form of ministry. This is because what should be kept is not an inspecting ministry but a working one.

[Announcer] We are grateful to the minister for the concise way he set out his program line, although he omitted a whole number of specific issues, in particular the selection of militia cadres.

Vadim Medvedev on Solving Domestic Problems

LD2909152191 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Bonn September 29 TASS—The failure of the August coup created fresh opportunities for the solution of problems in the Soviet Union. The prestige of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has risen, Vadim Medvedev, adviser to the Soviet president, told the newspaper WELT AM SONNTAG in an interview published today.

Medvedev believes that in today's situation there should be a more accelerated headway along the chosen road. However, the country may encounter "explosive effects" capable of leading to really dramatic situations, he said. The republics' striving for sovereignty is understandable. Their declarations of independence are backed by the potential of democratic forces, Medvedev pointed out.

But objectively these processes lead so far to increased economic difficulties, since the economic relations that have been in the making for a long time are being disrupted, he added.

"We believe that there is only one way now to resolve problems: to conclude an economic agreement. However, efforts to create a political union, on a voluntary basis, without pressure or violence, should not slacken.

Medvedev believes that "in prospect, a new structure similar to that of the European communities may come into being on the territory of the USSR. However, economic ties between republics are much closer than those between EC countries."

"In this situation, it is essential to retain a single monetary unit, a credit-and-banking system and other attributes of a single economic space," he said.

Medvedev pointed out the importance and necessity of "strategic cooperation" between the presidents of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. It will be difficult to tackle problems without such cooperation, he added.

Ageyev Arrested for Involvement in Putsch

LD2709175391 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—One more person will be arrested in connection with the case of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in addition to the 14 persons already arrested. The Russian Supreme Council today authorised the institution of legal proceedings and the arrest of Geniy Ageyev, Russian Federation people's deputy and former first deputy chairman of the KGB of the USSR, in connection with his active part in the August putsch.

Valentin Stepankov, prosecutor general of the Russian Federation, requested this at a joint meeting of the parliamentary chambers. He said Ageyev had actively participated in the implementation of the plot aimed at the seizure of power.

"Acting on orders from Vladimir Kryuchkov, Ageyev organised measures to isolate the president of the USSR and deprive him of means of communication," Stepankov said. He said that on August 19 Ageyev sent to all organs of the country's state security a directive "to preclude the possibility of the transfer of information aimed at consolidating forces opposing decisions of the State Committee for the State of Emergency."

"Later Ageyev worked out concrete measures aimed at the seizure of the Russian parliament building and the removal from power of leaders of the republic. He ordered the internment of a large group of most active opponents to the State Committee for the State of Emergency, among them Russia's and USSR people's deputies," Stepankov said.

Komsomol Central Bodies Cease Official Functions

LD2809140391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1209 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—The All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (VLKSM) [Komsomol], set up in 1918, has essentially ended its existence. At the VLKSM Congress today, the decision was made to conclude the VLKSM's political role as a Federation of Communist Youth Leagues and to end the activity of the central elected bodies of the VLKSM.

Prior to making this decision, the deputies introduced changes to the VLKSM Statute, according to which in the event of the VLKSM ending its activities, the republican youth leagues, which are subjects of the VLKSM Federation, become its successors. The delegates also intend to discuss the resolution on ownership, and to form provisional coordinating bodies for the transition period. It is intended that they will engage in coordinating the activity of republican organizations, and monitor the fulfillment of the decisions of the 22d VLKSM Congress.

MDR Political Council Discusses Economy

LD3009053191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By unidentified TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—Overcoming economic chaos requires immediate measures for stabilizing the political situation in the country, the Political Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms thinks. A meeting of the Political Council was held today. Main attention was given to discussing the economic state of the country.

Participants in the meeting stressed that the split that deepened after the August events, and at times direct confrontation of democratic forces, particularly in the sphere of legislative and executive power, only aggravate the general crisis.

Having discussed the results of the first Moscow Conference of the Movement for Democratic Reforms (MDR), the political council expressed hope that the Russian Party of Democratic Changes, which was created after the conference, in interaction with other parties, members of the Republican Party of Russia and the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia, will assist in creating a single democratic space on the territory of the country.

The Political Council adopted a statement "on the situation in Tajikistan," in which it expressed serious concern regarding the situation that has taken shape there and the real danger of civic confrontation. The Political Council supports efforts of democratic movements aimed at consolidation and renewal and calls on the peoples of Tajikistan, all political and constructive forces in the republic, the clergy, and young people to solve the conflict in a peaceful way.

A decision has been made to hold the first congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms on 30 November-1 December in Moscow. Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev, Ivan Laptev, Pavel Bunich, Nikolay Petrakov, and others took part in the meeting.

General Kalugin Receives Pension Certificate

PM3009084591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Report from RIA; correspondents roundup under general heading "Over the Telegraph Wire": "Confrontation Ends"]

[Text] Ye. Savostyakov, chief of the Moscow and Moscow Oblast USSR KGB Directorate, issued General O. Kalugin with a pension certificate 17 September. This brings to a close the protracted conflict between the disgraced general and the USSR KGB.

Political Prisoners Released From Siberian Jails

LD2809044791 Moscow TASS in English 1206 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Leonid Bagdatyev]

[Text] Chusovoi September 27 TASS—Five political prisoners were released in the Soviet Union on Friday after they were pardoned by the Soviet parliament.

Former Army servicemen Anatoliy Khobta, Viktor Olisnevich, Aleksey Shcherbakov, Valeriy Smirnov (who worked at a Soviet mission abroad) and engineer Aleksandr Goldovich were sentenced to different terms in a high security prison in Perm region, western Siberia.

Shatalin Warns of Neo-Bolshevist Threat

PM2709142591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Academician S. Shatalin: "Infantile Disorder of Leftism, or Why Society Is Threatened by Neo-Bolshevism"]

[Text] Of course, comparison is not the same as proof. But even so... Nicholas II's refusal to give up the throne in good time largely predetermined the 1917 October Bolshevik coup, the fratricidal civil war, and the creation of a bloodthirsty regime the like of which mankind had never seen and—God willing—never will again. But to this end it is necessary not to draw inspiration from our mistakes but to refute the oft-expressed idea that the main lesson of history is that people never learn any lessons from it.

Many people believe that Russia has been free for just six months in its history—between February and October 1917. I do not accept that. In Russia the October Revolution was genetically preprogrammed, and all kinds of "if only's" (if only Martov had not left, Lenin would not have come to power; if only the Constituent Assembly had not been dissolved, and so forth) are kindergarten-level arguments.

I recall one other statement: "Revolutions are most often prepared by utopians, executed by fanatics, and their fruits enjoyed by rascals." February 1917 on Russian soil was more than convincing confirmation of the last point, at least. N. Berdyayev was right to say that revolutions are never successful.

When, after a long period abroad, G. Plekhanov and P. Kropotkin returned to Petrograd (now St. Petersburg again) and saw for themselves the "revolutionary" activity of the masses, Kropotkin said to Plekhanov in a fit of temper: "Georgiy Valentinovich, have we waited all our lives for this?"

Nicholas II, A. Kerenskiy, L. Kornilov, V. Lenin... God preserve us from playing out the same scenes under a new director. The essentially collapsing empire called the USSR, the unprecedented outbursts of chauvinism, nationalism, and vandalism, and the fatally ailing "socialist" economy are realities which require proper interpretation and proper political decisions rather than lightweight arguments about a "renewed Union" or an immediate cure for the "infantile disorder of leftism" in the shape of democracy, which at lightning speed is turning before our very eyes into a bloody case of "every man for himself," witch-hunts, campaigns against "enemies of the people," lynchings, and the creation of "troikas" and rapidly multiplying secret agents.

Democrats are calmly voting to revive the deceased for the sake of false humanism, are calling the cancer virtually a boon for the sake of some kind of historical expediency and defense of human rights, repeating all the mistakes of the Bolsheviks—who were also democrats and social democrats and fought against a czar who, sadly, had forgotten that he was an aristocrat. The only thing not entirely clear is just who is currently playing the role of Grigoriy Rasputin, or are we all living in a madhouse? Recent events inside and outside the Kremlin provide many grounds for confirming this conclusion. Any "constitutional" wavering, whatever the higher values evoked to justify it, would be the death knell of civil society and the individual.

We would need a total absence of political culture and a blatant lack of understanding of the real processes taking place in the world and the country in order not to recognize the complete independence of the Baltic republics at the Congress of People's Deputies. In congratulating them I would like to remind their leaders again and again—and all of us too—that the supreme asset is man, and the supreme sovereignty is the sovereignty of the individual.

I do not consider Lenin a major thinker. But he was not mistaken when he said that we need to divide before we unite. However "blasphemous" and inhumane this might sound on my lips, I affirm that a necessary, although inadequate, condition for the creation of a new democratic and economically effective community on the territory of the former USSR is immediate recognition of all republics as sovereign states. This is the only path toward integration in all spheres of human activity—above all, the economic sphere.

A community or union—if the "union supporters" like that word better—can only last if it is an alliance of free people rather than slaves or half-slaves. If we fail to realize this, we will rapidly and "in union" plunge into the abyss and end up facing a civil war—and by no means of the 1917-1922 variety.

Russia has defended the rudiments of democracy, which it had never experienced in its history. Democracy is fragile—it is constantly besieged by satanic Bolshevik charms and temptations, and there is also the great threat of a thermidor. In a number of republics communism has donned national dress—which was the case in the past too.

God forbid we should start a triumphal procession of democracy! There was a triumphal procession of Soviet power after the bloodless October 1917, and we know what a sea of blood it resulted in. People warned us with their lives and deaths. Or was everything in vain? The revolutionary-ochlocratic version of "every man for himself" is no different from the constitutional democracy version.

Latterly all our presidents and parliaments have been engaged in attempts to create structures of constitutional authority designed to safeguard power based on the law. All these often feverish attempts in our country are objectively inevitable. But let us not submit to temptation or illusion.

The seeming paradox that democratization and national regeneration are beginning to increasingly suppress free enterprise should also be clearly recognized by our democratic leaders. The most terrifying prospect today is that we will go down the ruinous path which is so familiar to us: We will provide people with food, drink, and heat first, and move to a market economy later. And so we will constantly lurch from one emergency to another. Why then should we curse the All-Russian Emergency Commission for the Struggle Against Counterrevolution and Sabotage [Cheka] and the KGB, and destroy monuments? Is it only because nobody will raise any to us? Or will there be nothing to make them out of? Or nobody to make them? What about the democrats? The communists failed to make use of their last chance to quietly leave the political scene—which I tearfully asked them to do 19 August—and staged the putsch. Let's make use of our first chance, or it could turn out to be our last.

Now I would like to appeal directly to the two presidents—of Russia and the USSR. Boris Nikolayevich! You have already played an outstanding role. In Russia's more than 1,000-year history you are its first president who was chosen by the people rather than being an anointed sovereign. You have to bear the crushing historic burden of supreme responsibility to our people. Be equal to these tasks. Unlike M.S. Gorbachev, you have a good team on the whole. Try, as far as possible, to refute the famous dictum that people who strive for power and achieve it undergo a change. I make that request of your team and of all democrats. Our main aim is to ensure that Russia can prosper without you and without all of us.

Mikhail Sergeyevich! You have shown yourself to be an outstanding politician. Without the work which you began—albeit hesitantly and with inevitable mistakes—no start would have been made on abolishing slavery and serfdom. Fate played a mean and horrid trick on you. It is good that everything ended the way it did. You must now prove that you have really gotten your second wind. You must correctly assess the situation and think seriously about your team. All the more so as it does not have very much time left to play the game. And this game is the final.

People! Let us refute F. Bacon's famous words: "It is the ape's resemblance to man that disgusts." Neo-Bolshevism's resemblance to democracy is particularly disgusting. Neo-Bolshevism must not prevail. We must forget the physical and moral guillotine forever.

New Roles for Shevardnadze, Bessmertnykh Examined

PM3009090591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Eduard Shevardnadze: More Daring Plans Would Be Implemented—Given Stability"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze is returning to official diplomacy in an unexpected capacity following his resignation in December. He has agreed to the USSR president's request to head the state delegation at talks with Lithuania. Will it be harder to reach agreement with Vilnius or, say, Washington? Those are two different tasks and only time will provide the answer to a question which could not even have been imagined six years ago, when Shevardnadze became Soviet foreign minister. During his years in the post a great deal changed for the better in our relations with Washington. An unprecedented divorce process will have to take place with Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn. We will have to split up while maintaining good-neighbor relations, dividing up "property" fairly, and safeguarding the security interests and rights of the "nonnative" population. With his prestige and experience, Shevardnadze is more suitable than anyone for this mission, but, in the eyes of fellow citizens who think traditionally or strictly pragmatically, he still bears the mark of suspicion. They wonder whether he might sell us out or make excessive concessions as he did, they believe, to the Americans, East Europeans, and West Germans.

Shevardnadze agreed to take on this difficult task, but even he himself believes that in this new historical period it is necessary to expand the sphere of the application of new political thinking. In his view, in order to restore stability in the country a new policy is needed no less than it once was for normalizing relations between the USSR and the United States, and between the USSR and the West. If the Baltics had been "let go" earlier, we might have obtained more from the West in the shape of economic aid. That is what he thinks. As for the other republics, the center "needs to do an about-face" on them if we do not want them to go too. Shevardnadze, with his Georgian temperament and slight accent, highlighted these key words.

I interviewed him in a newly refurbished and half-empty house on Yezarova Street, where—alongside the roaring beltway and the no less noisy Kursk Station—the USSR Foreign Policy Association is located. It was set up and is headed by the former minister, who resigned after his famous December prophecy of impending dictatorship.

"We need to do an about-face on those matters where the republics have been blocked or treated over-zealously," he said with regard to relations between the Union and republic foreign ministries.

Under the new conditions, when the center has virtually disintegrated and main power has been assumed by the republics, this is the most important reality for Shevardnadze. The question is unequivocal—either, or. "The Union Foreign Ministry will be preserved if it is needed by the republics as a coordinator, aide, or intermediary," he stated. "The Foreign Ministry and Union organs have no tasks more important in implementing their sovereignty in the international arena. It is only through this that we can arrive at cooperation, only through this that we can earn each other's trust. Rivalry would mean disaster."

Eduard Shevardnadze has emerged victorious out of the trials of the past year and particularly the past few weeks, bolstering his prestige among Russian democrats and with the Russian president, returning to the USSR president's entourage on his own terms, and reaffirming his high standing in the West. A stream of prime ministers, ministers, bankers, and other high-ranking foreign visitors, as well as political scientists and journalists have been passing through his small and modest office. TV people are constantly dragging their equipment up the stairs to the second floor and back down again. While I was there a phone call came in from Gorbachev—on the ordinary phone, even though government communications telephones were recently installed in this "non-government" office.

Coming to foreign policy from domestic policy, Shevardnadze admits that he is now once again giving the latter more attention, as one of the founders of the Movement for Democratic Reform.

However, his thoughts and concerns worriedly return to the skyscraper on Smolensk Square which houses the Soviet Foreign Ministry. He continues to refer to both the headquarters and the Union diplomatic posts around the world as an "intellectual center" and a "national asset" which all republics can call upon. He is prepared to use his prestige as a world-class politician and statesman to ensure that the Foreign Ministry vessel steers safely through the stormy waters of the "transitional period." Here too he does not balk at strong words: "The most terrible thing would be if this collective were to collapse." Although, in his view, there is a need for a thoroughgoing reorganization which would, in particular, unite foreign policy and foreign economic activity.

I have heard—not from him personally, but from some of his former subordinates—that Shevardnadze is warning against a "witch hunt" among diplomats, and had expressed reservations about the recall of Soviet ambassadors in connection with their behavior during the putsch.

Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, whom Gorbachev asked to resign as foreign minister because of his "passivity" during the putsch, now has his own desk at the Foreign Policy Association. Unlike Shevardnadze, he has been a professional diplomat all his life. His wealth of knowledge should not be allowed to sink without trace.

The two former ministers have agreed to set up under the Foreign Policy Association a political analysis center headed by Bessmertnykh—this was announced the other day. The center's task is to provide a highly professional, objective, short-, and medium-term analysis of the international situation and our foreign policy, taking account of the domestic aspects which influence it. Former U.S. secretaries of state (Henry Kissinger, for instance) usually do this sort of thing—and with success, making their contribution to educating the public and shaping foreign policy, and helping their successors with expert advice.

The views of Shevardnadze and Bessmertnykh on the Soviet Foreign Ministry's new role, and their concern about its fate intersect and coincide—as I saw for myself when I talked with Bessmertnykh.

He hopes that the "period of emotional enthusiasm for political independence will quickly pass and give way—as has already started to happen—to a period of magnetic attraction for the republics." All the more so as, without policy coordination, "no republic will rise up to the proper international level or acquire prestige equal to its size and resources." Yes, a lot needs to be given up to the republics as regards bilateral relations with other states; no, we should not envy them their new and unusually increased role; but the center should retain a "coordinating, regulatory [styagivayushchaya] role." Bessmertnykh particularly highlights the "Russia factor." He sees as desirable the "structural integration of the Union and Russian Foreign Ministries," the "elaboration of joint positions" on a number of questions of relations with other countries or on issues connected with nuclear weapons, and the "creation of joint Union-Russian negotiating mechanisms" in which other republics could also participate, if necessary.

As Bessmertnykh put it, professionalism in behavior and in seeking solutions has been the "main achievement" of Soviet diplomacy, which should by no means be lost. "If anything in our state has worked and does work like clockwork, it's the Foreign Ministry, which is more like a production organism than an administrative organism—an organism which produces foreign policy." In our current era of fundamental change, the collapse of the USSR Foreign Ministry apparatus would pose an "exceptional danger." The "second danger" would be of people "getting incompetently involved in foreign policy," naively believing in democratic selflessness, and thinking that relations with the outside world are an easy matter. Bessmertnykh sees another danger in the temptation to "write off" certain controversial international problems without making a thorough and comprehensive analysis of the possible consequences.

Bessmertnykh states that: "My only hope is that the disintegration will be temporary... The republics may think that they will hoist their sails and sail off somewhere. But where? We are in the same boat, the same boat."

Shevardnadze dreams: "In this situation it is hard to talk about foreign policy. The main threat now—more than the nuclear threat—is an unstable Soviet Union. If it were possible to stabilize the situation inside the country, the most daring plans could be implemented on the international arena—both in disarmament, in ecology, and in the economy. All problems would be soluble..."

When the world is being remade, only the Almighty can see the end result. Mere mortals cannot. And in this exceptional situation former—and current!—ministers are more like mere mortals than the incomprehensible Creator. For all their sober realism they too can only hope and dream to a certain extent when they look into the future.

Article Endorses Shevardnadze View of Putsch

PM2709131591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by S. Dardykin: "Moment of Truth. For E. Shevardnadze This Was the Three Days in August That Confirmed the Accuracy of His 'Choice,' Which Could Not, However, Have Delighted the Author"]

[Text] "I did not want this kind of postscript"—these were the words with which Eduard Shevardnadze began the last chapter of his book. The book itself, "My Choice in Defense of Democracy and Freedom," was ready a few months ago. The chapter in question was completed 26 August, the fifth day after the failure of the putsch. It is hard for me, the reader, to decide now whether the chapter is the postscript or whether the entire book is the foreword to it.

"The events of 19-21 August 1991 cast a mighty 'retroactive' light over the screen of memory and throw a new light on many things there." They also throw a new light on the day in December when the foreign minister hurled the following remark into the Kremlin hall with such uncharacteristic temper: Dictatorship is approaching. Shevardnadze knew!—How many of us were given no peace during the putsch by the memory not so much of his unexpected emotional statement as the reaction to it. Did many people believe it? Let us admit frankly that they did not. On the other hand people were willing to surmise: "Maybe something is brewing in Tbilisi again?"

Politician's intuition. Intuition in politics. He did not know that it would come true so literally within six months—the president isolated; a self-styled committee; tanks not in Tbilisi, not in Vilnius, but in Moscow; orders for arrests, handcuffs ordered. He made the prediction, his prediction proved correct.

"Odd facts, observations, ideas, conjecture, sudden flashes of inspiration, doubts that arose and then disappeared—these heartbreaking fragments that made me act as I did have now formed a whole."

The increasingly frequent attacks on the foreign policy course and patriot-deputies' actions, the perfidy and outright acts of sabotage by departments that shared responsibility for decisionmaking formed a logical chain. How does the professional detective differ from the ordinary mortal? He has no need of clear-cut evidence, the sum total of indirect pieces of evidence is enough for the picture to become clear. How does an experienced politician differ from nonpoliticians? He has no need of documentary corroboration—noticeable omissions, desultory sentences, and fleeting episodes are enough for him to guess the possible course of events. "The signatures to the 'State Committee for the State of Emergency Appeal' told me nothing new. From Baklanov to Yazov I regarded all of them, with a rare exception, as enemies of our policy. But it is one thing to do that, to suspect, surmise, and on that basis form an idea of the potential threat of dictatorship, and quite another to have precise, incontrovertible evidence. I had none. But, in addition to sober analysis, a politician must also follow his own intuition. He must take any opportunity to tell his colleagues, society, and the world of his alarm. That was what I did."

We know—even if we did not appreciate so much the drama of his action then as the scale and reality of the danger looming over us and the country—that he really took the last opportunity: resignation, "self-immolation," as he himself wrote.

What about the president? He did not hear, he did not want to hear this time. Why? There are no direct explanations in the book about this. Just as there is no answer to the question: Why did Gorbachev so often remain deaf to advice from people who were really loyal to him? Or to another question: Why did he refuse to protect them and avoid repulsing the rightwingers outright? Why did he endure the attacks and humiliation from the right and "fail to see with striking stubbornness the coup ring tightening around him"?

I think that only Shevardnadze's inherent decency, nobility, and persistent loyalty to the man whose comrade-in-arms he had been throughout this time prevented him saying more. For instance, voicing without sufficient proof the hypothesis that, when he had finally exhausted himself after stunning the world on so many occasions by his ability to perform a balancing act, Gorbachev preferred to bank on the right wing—for the simple reason that he mistakenly thought that the right-wingers presented the least danger to his personal authority. He felt on home ground there, among members of the apparatus, as Grand Master of the apparatus game, more secure than in the unstable, impatient, unpredictable democratic camp. We can still imagine how the presidential apparatus, the "competent" organs, and Boldin and Kryuchkov misinformed him about the democrats' intentions, actions, and statements. And how, sifting the facts, they supplied him with more and more "compromising material."

Or maybe it was precisely the opposite scenario—and this hypothesis is also in order—wherein throughout this time the president was afraid of the right-wingers and that was why he was forced to make personally ruinous concessions?

In the same way you may suppose that the president, spoiled by the incessant excessive praise of his flexibility and perspicacity—above all from abroad—came to have too great a belief in his ability to keep the upper hand in any situation and gain from any turn of events. That was also why he underestimated the threat of a plot that had been maturing for months. Last, one may suppose that readiness to forsake people and ideas that have ceased to be useful is part of Mikhail Sergeyevich's character. Remember not only Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, and Bakatin but also Yeltsin before them, and remember the "500 Days" program.

If we reject all these hypotheses, there is no logic in the answer to the question of why the president at the time of the putsch found himself without devoted comrades in arms, after handing over to the party nomenklatura and press for slaughter all the people with whom he began perestroyka. And why he literally drew into his team people who were so clearly opposed to his policy and bestowed infinite trust on them.

If we reject these hypotheses there does not seem to be any connection between the Gorbachev who offered the country a reform policy and the man who, Shevardnadze claims, "fostered the junta by his tolerance, indecisiveness, inclination to avoid taking sides, lack of discrimination with regard to people, indifference to his true comrades in arms, mistrust of democratic forces, and lack of belief in the fortress that is the people. The people who changed thanks to the perestroyka that he began."

Certainly, Gorbachev has repented and admitted his mistakes—and how could he fail to do so. We agree with Shevardnadze that everything that happened represents a tremendous personal tragedy for Mikhail Gorbachev, the politician and the man, and we are also willing to feel pity for the president, above all as a man. But, like the author of the book, we cannot help but remember that this tragedy almost brought about a national catastrophe, a tragedy for very many of us.

Now that it is all behind us, we are already prepared to belittle the threat by telling ourselves that the junta knew it could not succeed, that perestroyka had gone too far. At best it was only by the end of the first day of the putsch that the most perspicacious and observant among us received some reassurance on seeing the State Committee for the State of Emergency live on television: "These men" will not stay in place, "these men" are doomed. In retrospect we are strong and bold and everyone is a prophet. But what if we recall that first, ominous morning? Shevardnadze does not hide the fact that he was prepared for anything when he left home then. We believe him because we too took our leave. Not of freedom and life. But merely of hope—not for ourselves or even for our children but for our tormented country—of ever living a humane life.

Were we confident then—and are we now—that had the all-Union parliament met 19 August, it would not have voted obediently in favor of a state of emergency and willingly provided the putschists with constitutional vindication? Are we confident that the junta would have been so short-lived had the putschists not been so feeble and so confident that the country acknowledges orders from anyone whosoever in the Kremlin, had they carried out the coup first (with arrests, a block on all lines of communication, and the physical elimination of particularly undesirable people) and then told the whole world about it? And, lastly, are we confident that, had the putschists held out a little longer and not just until the first news conference that betrayed the fact that they were doomed, oaths of loyalty to the "committee" that had seized power would not have been sworn from near and far in the wake of calls for calm?

That is why there can be no certainty that any attempt to return the country to its pre-perestroyka state was knowingly doomed to failure. Just as there are no guarantees that this attempt was the last. We believe Eduard Shevardnadze: The danger is still great (God help us if he proves right again). Having gotten over our victory euphoria, we must recognize that we are back to square one in our endeavor to organize a normal life, and thus a life of abundance, for ourselves. A hungry country beset by rallies that has lost the habit of working normally and, in addition, occasionally turns its guns on the outlying areas is not the safest place for democracy. Do we want to uphold it? Let us be compassionate and sympathetic. But let us also be exacting. Toward ourselves and our leaders. There is no more time for their mistakes.

Media & Journalism

Yakovlev News Conference on Central TV 'Breakup'

PM2709112991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by Marina Rubantseva: "Breakup of Central Television Empire Inevitable, Yegor Yakovlev Says At Press Conference"]

[Text] The same thing is happening to Ostankino, he believes, as is happening to the country as a whole—the breakup of a vast empire. The day before, Presidents Gorbachev and Yeltsin had signed a protocol on dividing up assets between central and Russian radio and television. There has been talk about this for a long time, but everything has taken off since the August events. The next step will be the allocation of the Moscow Television Company to Moscow and the St. Petersburg Television Company to what used to be Leningrad.

"That is the correct decision," Yakovlev said. "The uncontrollable monster has to be broken up into smaller units. There is no need to pretend that you are controlling something that you are not controlling in fact. At the same time, I have no wish to control '600 Seconds.'"

The very name of the company now needs modifying, Yegor Vladimirovich observed: After all, it is now essentially an interstate company, and in talks with the chairman the leaders of the republics were even more definite in their support for its existence than before the putsch.

For us, the viewers, the dividing up of the television assets should mean better-quality programs—as is known, the conditions in which the Russian Television enthusiasts are operating fall short of all proper criteria. But technology is not everything. The appearance of several independent companies is a major step toward the demonopolization of the airwaves and the creation of a democratic bridgehead for society. The television and radio company chairman pointed out that one of the immediate tasks was to establish an information security system. What happens when it is absent we acutely experienced during the putsch.

A council of guarantors, made up of very authoritative people, respected nationally and worldwide, would help protect society from airborne falsehoods, Yakovlev reckons. Not just republic or oblast authorities, but private individuals would be able to turn to it for statements regarding the authenticity of information. The credibility of the council of the most just would be ensured by their good names.

Of course, in the existing structure of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting nothing of that kind was even possible. The new union broadcasting number one does not intend to retain this—ministerial and adapted to the needs of a totalitarian state—system. It is to be destroyed along with the written and unwritten laws whereby the summit of the pyramid of power in the 20,000 strong collective was represented by the three white telephones on the chairman's desk—first and second government lines, plus a direct line to Gorbachev. No wonder the viewer, who had to be informed, entertained, and educated, took on the shape of a politburo member in the minds of the television chiefs.

So they lived on state budget means, little bothering to improve efficiency. To that kind of life any serious program popularity rating was a luxury. If necessary a file containing working people's letters commenting on programs would be dusted off—it also appeared on Yakovlev's desk on the first day. But this proven method is not to Yegor Vladimirovich's liking, although he intends to give the viewer and listener an active role in running his company.

Let us talk about some television innovations. For example, an increase in the number of news bulletins during the day and an analytical program in the evening for those who want more than just facts. We will learn more about life in the countries of the West and the former socialist camp. There will be serious discussions about our own economic problems, and this will begin with a television linkup planned for this Thursday...

Following Yakovlev's program speech, the foreign press still had many questions for him. In particular, who offered him the big job and was the new chairman bothered by the three white telephones? Wasn't he afraid of competition from religion? What about the advent of business?

It turned out that the offer had come from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev himself. During the meeting with him, he did indicate, however, that it was also Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's wish. Yakovlev noted that this fact was of no little importance to him. According to his observations, there was as yet no competition from the church on television. But it is worrying that the programs devoted to religion train the spotlight on Orthodoxy and too little is said about other religions. As for business and advertising, it is something that is flooding the airwaves at the moment. On the other hand, our airtime is precious. Changes are needed here too.

Following his own rule, tried and tested at MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, Yakovlev does not intend to dismiss the former personnel. It is just that there will be different demands, so only those who can handle them will stay. In the knowledge that Yegor Vladimirovich was accustomed to setting the bar at a decent height, let us hope that the Union airwaves will be as full of talent as they are truthful.

The press conference was interesting and useful. It is only to be regretted that it was for foreign journalists alone. Soviet journalists were not admitted and the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent had to display considerable imagination to be able to get in and inform readers of the All-Union Television and Radio Company chairman's plans.

TASS To Begin 'Nonstop Newsline' 1 Oct

LD3009110191 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Antonov]

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—The leading Soviet news service TASS hopes to make a breakthrough soon by starting a nonstop newsline from October 1. The service will report domestic news around the clock, a natural move for a country extending over eight time-zones and a news agency with more than 100 reporters on five continents.

Agency's electronic networks will help compress time and information to keep pace with developments in Russia and other sovereign republics, instead of reporting only faits accompli.

Newspaper editors and radio and television companies, as well as foreign correspondents accredited in the country, will be supplied with hour-by-hour installments twenty-four hours a day.

The news service will no longer pester its customers with ideas about the agency's new image and style of work, but will seek to entice new customers with specific news promptly reported.

An agency "hot line" will be in operation from October 1. Anyone who has sensational news to offer is welcome to dial (095) 202-68-25 and dictate a page-long story taking no longer than 2.5 minutes to read. Callers should leave their name, telephone number and address, at which they can be contacted to receive a fee payable if the story is published.

TASS Reviews 28 Sep Central Press

LD2809080791 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT 28 Sep 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 28 TASS —Among the domestic developments in the USSR, newspapers highlight today the situation in Georgia. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries a report from Georgia under the headline "This is Beginning of Civil War". The report deals with the developments of the past 24 hours there, as the units loyal to President Zviad Gamsakhurdia attacked the base of the National Guard in the township of Shavnabada, which resulted in a loss of life. Diarchy is actually in effect in Tbilisi, capital of Georgia, newspapers report. There were no fierce clashes between Army units moved to the city and the opposition forces demanding Gamaskhurdia's resignation.

Nevertheless, the situation is extremely tense. PRAVDA's report from Tbilisi is entitled "No One is Planning an Armistice". According to the PRAVDA correspondent, President Gamsakhurdia described his political opponents as putschists.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA also carries a report of its correspondent from Tbilisi under the headline "Get Back to Your Senses". It lays emphasis on the appeal of President Gamsakhurdia to the Georgian nation calling for national accord and rejecting accusations of kindling an internecine war. At the same time, the newspaper writes that the units loyal to the president occupied the township of Shavnabada on Friday. It was abandoned earlier by the personnel of the National Guard under the command of Tengiz Kitovani, which sides with the opposition forces.

According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, the Republic of Tajikistan is also on the brink of a civil war. Massive protest actions are continuing there against the republican parliament (supreme soviet), on the initiative of which a state of emergency was imposed on the Republic.

The situation seems to be normalised in the Dnester region of Moldova, TRUD reports. Railway traffic is being resumed there after the end of the railway blockade organised by the locals.

Yelena Veduta, a publicist, has contributed an article to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. She sets forth her idea about ways to overcome the crisis. She believes that the most important thing is to "stop drawing people into a populist policy". Skilled work of everyone on its working place should become a basis of the economic revival of the country.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an article about the life and suicide of Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, a prominent military leader. The article is entitled "Russian Soldier Akhromeyev". Quoting his relatives, the newspaper writes that Akhromeyev had no connections with the State Emergency Committee. Most probably, he committed suicide as a result of a "tragedy of an honest intellectual with firmly established views, ideals and ideas of how his own life and the life of the country should be organised."

PRAVDA carries an interview with Jean Kan and Serge Zweigenbaum, heads of the European Jewish Congress. They believe that Soviet Jews should not hurry to emigrate from the Soviet Union, that they should make their own contribution to the transformation of the country and society.

TASS Reviews 30 Sep Central Press

LD3009090691 Moscow TASS in English 0633 GMT 30 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 30 TASS—Newspapers report the situation in the country's hot spots, including Georgia, Tajikistan and Azerbaijan.

PRAVDA notes that confrontation is growing between Georgian authorities and opposition forces demanding that presidential power in the republic be cancelled. The sides have so far failed to find common ground on which to base talks.

A rally organised by the opposition, is still continuing in freedom square in Dushanbe after six days running. Participants resolutely reject decisions by the Tajikistan parliament emergency session. Tensions are running high in the city, PRAVDA writes.

Reports from Azerbaijan describe hopes for reaching peace in Nagorno-Karabakh after presidents of four republics signed a joint communique in Zheleznovodsk, are being ignored as the bloodshed continues.

"The activities of the Soviet Communist Party have been suspended with no constitutional authority," Soviet Communist Party Deputy Leader Vladimir Ivashko told PRAVDA.

Ivashko strongly denied the party's participation in the abortive coup attempt in August, despite the fact that several members of the party's leading bodies were involved in it. The party gave no instructions or recommendations to these people about such actions, Ivashko said.

Ivashko claimed rumours about multi-billion sums from party funds allegedly transferred abroad, are "ill-intentioned fancies".

"Boris Nikolayevich, who are you?", The KOMMERSANT weekly asks today, publishing an article about Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Isolating "the president's peculiarity of following his own intuition", KOMMERSANT parliamentary observer Maxim Sokolov writes that "studies of Yeltsin's political psychology are especially difficult in contrast with rationalist Gorbachev, who has skillfully used a set of standard methods".

"It is hard to understand Yeltsin, a purely irrational-type politician, whose standard is the absence of standards," Sokolov writes. Analyzing the Russian president's deeds, policy and behaviour, the observer notes unpredictability of his actions. In this respect, Yeltsin is far from being a model politician, KOMMERSANT writes.

KOMMERSANT reviews a "package of new taxation bills", submitted to the Russian parliament last week. If the parliament approves the bills, a new taxation system will be introduced on January 1, 1992.

The weekly paper notes that instead of taxes on profits, like in the world and in this country at present, the bills propose taxes on enterprises. According to the new system, even non-profit making enterprises will have to pay taxes, KOMMERSANT notes.

Newspapers comment on the Russian government's programme supporting entrepreneurship. They report the formation of the Soviet President' Council for Business Activities and the Association for Protecting and Supporting Business People. KOMMERSANT notes that Soviet business people have at last won respect and cooperation from authorities.

KOMMERSANT writes that "St. Petersburg has become a centre of world trade, one of 235 such centres". The city's business people have obtained an opportunity to exchange information with hundreds of firms in over 60 countries, using electronic mail.

PRAVDA publishes articles devoted to a new arms control initiative by the United States. The newspaper says the initiative announced by President George Bush, will bring about a historic revision of U.S. strategy, which has remained unchanged for 40 years. According to the newspaper, Bush has proposed a new agenda for international perestroyka.

Economic

Economic Committee Discusses Budget Problems

OW2709183791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Committee for the Management of the National Economy met on Friday to discuss the question of increasing the revenue of the union economy. Addressing this issue, the USSR Deputy Finance Minister, Vladimir Raevskiy, announced that the planned emergency budget for the USSR in the next four quarters would be ready for presentation by Wednesday. It will introduce harsh public spending cuts and also finance a number of items using State Bank credits. Raevskiy admitted that the plan was, in essence, to finance the economy by the printing of money. But, he said, in today's circumstances there was no other alternative. Mr. Raevskiy announced that 60-70 milliard [billion] roubles were to be printed this year, whereas last year the figure was 28 milliard. He also stated that of the 26 milliard in the budget assigned to the "various expenses" item, 28.2 milliards are to go on the purchase of precious metals for the treasury. Raevskiy declared that the defence budget was an issue that should be approached with care. The cuts in defence expenditure of 5.6 milliard roubles, he said, would lead to a loss in production of 10 milliard roubles and in profits of 5 milliard roubles. Budget payments will fall by 1.5 milliard roubles. Further discussion of this issue continued in closed session.

Yavlinskiy Interviewed on Soviet Economy

LD2809180591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1845 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Interview with Grigoriy Yavlinskiy by Aleksandr Lyubimov at USSR Center for Political and Economic Research; date not given; from the "Vzglyad" program—recorded]

[Text] [Lyubimov] [Video shows Lyubimov speaking over farm scene] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy today met British Prime Minister Major to discuss new data about our economy which are being given to the International Monetary Fund. But who is to join it? Over the past two weeks, an interstate economic treaty which is to unite the republics in an economic union has been under active discussion. Before he flew out to London, we met at the USSR Center for Political and Economic Research.

[Video shows Lyubimov interviewing Yavlinskiy] As everyone knows, normal people sleep at night. But tonight, since our economy is not normal, we decided we preferred to talk to Grigoriy Yavlinskiy.

[Yavlinskiy] Seventy percent of what was in the tabled treaty has been agreed. There are substantial divergences from what was planned. But that is not the end of it. There is still work ahead. But the work has shown that it is very difficult to surmount a certain mutual unwillingness on everyone's part to discuss any sort of problems which pertain to the economic sphere proper.

We have had very good discussions about problems with regard to wool deliveries or exchanging wool for bricks. Everyone is concerned with oil and the gasoline situation. But problems dealing with financial stabilization or foreign curency, or the coordination of actions in the sphere of pricing policy and other similar matters, are discussed very sparingly.

A new note has come very much to the fore in these discussions. The republics are very mistrustful of each other. They are already regarding each other with great suspicion. For instance, there is mistrust toward Russia. The republics are fearful about which of them is going to behave, and how, in the near future.

[Lyubimov] The republics are dragging their heels. A desire to postpone tackling problems and to camouflage the economic crisis in a welter of sovereignties concerns them more. Declassified data about our predicament may come as a sobering experience to the champions of a national-economic route.

[Yavlinskiy] We had very many secret spheres in our economy which were not opened up at all in the past, despite the fact that the whole world has long been aware of them. This made it very difficult to assess the economy. On the one hand, it engendered unnecessary illusions. On the other, it made it impossible to use certain resources and opportunities. This held very considerable sway. Now, not just in connection with the work on the treaty, but also because a decision has been made on the political level—and the need for this is increasing literally with every passing month—the issue of joining the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank faces us head on. This entails moving toward the world economy. Analysing all this, one can say that over the year our position has altered strikingly. The failure of all the economic mechanisms that occurred at the end of 1990 and the beginning of 1991, and which is still with us, caused the former leadership, having rejected all decisions in favor of radical market reforms, merely to go about using the possibilities which the country had accumulated.

In 1990, for the sake of argument, sales of gold and precious metals doubled. They were simply enormous. This has effectively resulted in our reserves today being equal to our annual extraction. That is a very small amount. A very small amount.

[Lyubimov] How much?

[Yavlinskiy] It amounts to a little more than 240 tonnes of gold.

[Lyubimov] What sort of gold reserves should a normally functioning country have?

[Yavlinskiy] I don't know. There probably isn't such a thing as a norm for a normally functioning country. I can simply say that the United States has more than 4,000 tonnes. There you have it.

[Lyubimov] And we have 200 tonnes?

[Yavlinskiy] We have 240 tonnes. That is our gold reserve for today. But it is understandable given that last year we sold 470 tonnes in one go. We have also sold 500 tonnes in one go. By the way, some Western figures were published in IZVESTIYA recently. They were wrong. Our debt stands at something like $60 billion plus. Servicing of the debt costs $17 billion—not a large debt for a country like ours. The servicing factor also isn't large.

Our only problem is that we do not have any mechanisms for paying back the debt. We do not have any mechanisms for servicing it. We are experiencing an absolute reduction...

[Lyubimov interrupting] Servicing means paying interest, does it not?

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, quite so. We are experiencing an absolute reduction in exports of exportable products. Exports as a whole are dropping. Oil exports are falling. There are very great difficulties. The 40 percent tax on all hard currency—an adminstative tax, overall—had to be paid in order for resources to be accumulated for debt repayment.

[Lyubimov] That was the idea.

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, that was the idea. But you will understand that this is also a purely administrative measure. The tax was very high as well. The economy must function effectively, and this will enable debts to be repaid. But the idea should not be to fleece those who have already managed to earn hard curency. It really is not.

[Lyubimov] Alright then, but if the economic resources have been accumulated, they must exist.

[Yavlinskiy] No, these resources do not exist. Let's make a comparison with the resources we had in 1990. In 1990 we had on the account, our reserves stood at $15 billion. Then we had a payments crisis. We started to hold back payments, and somewhere in October or November of last year we began to be refused short-term credits. We were immediately forced to settle using the deposits we had, what we had in the banks. The upshot was that we lost everything. Today we have nothing. We are around 4 billion in the red [currency not specified].

These are actual non-payments, what we have not been paying in practice. Just imagine: we used 110 tonnes of gold as a security, and we cannot redeem these tonnes. We are not redeeming them. They will remain there if we don't redeem them. We should have already redeemed them. That is the sort of thing that has been happening. We have reduced our gold reserves more than threefold in the course of a year. We have lost all our foreign currency reserve deposits in the course of a year. What does that mean? Just wait and see what will happen in another year!

[Lyubimov; voice over street rallies] I do not think it will be news to anyone that the economy is in a parlous state. Today some people are trying to share out our debt and gold reserves and to debate an independent future. Reality looks somewhat different. The economy does not live under national flags. It teaches harsh lessons to those who lack competence or simply an understanding of these objective truths. Citizen presidents, be honest and professional in your intentions.

[Yavlinskiy] Some republics are more reform-minded than others, so to speak.

[Lyubimov] Whom do you mean?

[Yavlinskiy] Well, it is easier to talk to representatives of Russia, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan, for instance.

[Lyubimov] Then perhaps the three of them should sign the agreement.

[Yavlinskiy] No. Perhaps that is how things will end up, but we still have to define relations with such important republics as the Ukraine. The Ukraine and Uzbekistan, for instance, are putting up fairly tough resistance. They are taking a rather tough line. Particularly the Ukraine. It is expressing the viewpoint that there should be some kind of union along CEMA lines. By the way, the fate of the CEMA is well-known.

We speak of the Ukraine, but we do not speak of the people who live there—the Donbass miners, the people who live in Galicia, and the Western Ukraine. We speak of politicians who have a certain idea of what is good for their people. The degree to which they include the economy in that sphere of interests is a separate issue. To pick up roughly the same theme that you mentioned, perhaps people will say: We are prepared not to eat or drink, but we want independence. We want sovereignty. We do not want anything to do with anyone else. We want to go it alone. That does not seem very convincing to me. The big republics have the best chance—republics like Russia, because Russia has everything it needs to bring this about. It can and will be the center of reforms. At the end of the day, it can declare a different principle—that the Union is me plus those who want to be with me-'. That is that. I am Russia and I am embarking on reforms. I have waited a very long time. I cannot wait any more. I offered you a treaty, a union. If not, I am embarking on reform. Join me, whoever wants to.

Silayev on Reform Aims, Committee Work

914A1246A Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Sep 91 p 2

[Interview with I.S. Silayev, head of the Interrepublic Committee, former chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia, by INTERFAX correspondent V. Terekhov; date and place not given: "I. Silayev: 'There Will No Longer Be a Government that Would Dictate'"]

[Text] **Not very long ago TRUD published a detailed interview with I.S. Silayev, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia. But the pace of changes in our life is fast. Last week Ivan Stepanovich became head of the Interrepublic Committee. And in this connection INTERFAX correspondent V. Terekhov interviewed him specially for our newspaper.**

[Terekhov] Do you think that the Interrepublic Committee can be called a government of people's trust?

[Silayev] We have all gotten accustomed to a certain stereotype of this term—the government, the Council of Ministers. In this case, we are talking about something else. There no longer will be a government that will rule or even dictate. The Interrepublic Committee will become an organ that the republics today trust. Nevertheless, it will not be a government in the classic understanding, but a general executive organ that must work in the interests of the new Union economic agreement. If the republics trust it, it will work successfully. And vice versa, if it works successfully, then there will also be the trust of the republics.

The people will trust us if life becomes better, and not worse. But this will require a certain time... I would not now begin to give the future Interrepublic Committee the title of "government of the people's trust."

[Terekhov] What will you do if the republic governments are displeased with some of your actions?

[Silayev] You see, I do not expect that the situation will be very peaceful, and that there will be complete harmony. There are as many opinions as there are republics.

The economic program itself and the agreement provide for taking the positions of three groups into account—members of the economic agreement, associated members, and observers. But we cannot allow the majority to damage the interests of a republic that is in the minority. In this event, these republics can be guided in their own actions by their own decisions, if, of course, they do not violate the principles of the economic agreement.

[Terekhov] In his time your predecessor Pavlov, responding to a question from TRUD, frightened Western investors by saying that they are trying to damage us. What do you think of foreign investments? What do you intend to do to attract foreign investments?

[Silayev] It is awkward to criticize predecessors, but of course the whole world was very alarmed at that time. I said earlier, and I will repeat once more: I do not imagine that it is possible today, in the modern world, to stand on one's own legs without assistance when you have a ruined and wrecked economy. Not because it is impossible. In the final analysis, if we work at it for 10 years then, perhaps, something could be done. But, first, not one government will be able to function for 10 years because the people will not tolerate a continuous worsening of the situation. Consequently, without the support of the developed nations that have achieved a high level of economic prosperity, and without the use of their capital, the process of our formation will be long. I would even say tragic, with explosive outbursts, with riots, and with a refusal to accept even the well-disposed and well-chosen members of the government.

...Six years have already passed. A massive joint program that would ensure vigorous capital investment in our economy is necessary. And this is not a charitable activity. This is not some kind of gratuitous assistance. Such assistance cannot lift up our economy. Our economy needs an organized and civilized system of investment that would help us get through the period of cessation of the crisis quickly. Afterwards—the achievement of stabilization, and only after this, can we go into aggressive development. This should give confidence to foreign investors so they can also justify their capital investments. Investments are inconceivable without this.

We do not want to sell out our natural resources. They have to be exploited competently and sold competently.

[Terekhov] The degree of impoverishment of the people has exceeded all bounds. The store shelves are empty, and the market is extremely expensive. Do you not fear an outburst of discontent?

[Silayev] Yes, this danger must not be underestimated. We will not resolve the problem until we get the production of food moving as it should through the new structures, including through farming units, and through the privatization of trade and the systems of storage and processing. We talk about this a lot, but the matter is moving very slowly. This has to be given a new impetus, and not only state but also non-state structures have to be linked up—in the form, for example, of commercial banks that could conduct privatization under the control of the state.

But all of this is in the future. And the people have to live today. For a quick saturation of the market, it is necessary to open up our economic borders quickly and to provide an opportunity to import goods into our country. Not to buy, but to bring them in, and to give Western merchants an opportunity to come to us with their goods. To grant the needed economic privileges and even the duty-free import of food, consumer goods, machinery for the peasants, and medicines. This must be done as quickly as possible.

We are not threatened by a suffocation of our industry, because we impoverished so much that for several years it will be possible to import, without fearing that our light and food industry will be ruined.

However, as soon as we see that competition is dangerous for our industry, and that our native industry "is being beaten," we will introduce limitations.

Further. Farming has to be introduced more broadly. We are convinced of this. Recently, we reviewed the first stage of work in land reform and saw that our laws are inadequate for the development of farming. The right to sell land is not permitted, and there are no financial opportunities. We allocated a billion, and we were proud of this. But this is an insignificant amount. It is necessary to support the farm economy more boldly. Both equipment and fertilizer are necessary, and money in large amounts. Ready farms have to be built. And so forth, and so forth.

But we see the fact that the solution is in the farmers even in the first steps of farming: efficiency, productivity, crop yield, quality—everything they do is significantly better. Seventy percent of the potatoes in Russia are produced by private farming units. And only 30 percent, by kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. But with regard to this 30 percent, we fuss, yell, and arrange crash programs. When this 30 percent is transferred to the private economy, then there will not be any problems...

[Terekhov] What do you think of strikes? Are you opposed to them or not? What will you do, if they start up again?

[Silayev] The strike is a form of protecting rights. If it actually arises as a method of turning attention to problems, and that really these demands are correct, that is one thing. In the civilized world the strike is respected, and it is recognized, even though someone might not like it. But I am against the instigation of actions when, for example, someone for selfish reasons urges the stoppage of production and its paralysis.

In the West, there is a mechanism for resolving disputes. It is worked out in detail. The state must ensure compliance with laws. Also including participation in the examination of one or another conflict.

[Terekhov] How do you evaluate your move from the post of head of the Government of Russia to the new, Union level, and why at such a difficult moment did President of Russia Boris Yeltsin "sacrifice" you?

[Silayev] I would like to be understood. All of the previous work, both mine and that of the Russian Government, was in a struggle. Unfortunately, a significant part of the energy was not expended on constructive work, but on opposition, on defense, and on testimony. And I would like there not to be any more interference in reform activity. This kind of a possibility is now emerging. The former bastion is destroyed. But what will happen further? It could revive, for example, if people came to the leadership who did not go through this crucible of opposition. I think that I have a right to speak, inasmuch as I experienced this heavy and exhausting struggle myself. Therefore, I will not allow the revival of the old. And I take this on as my own task.

Nonetheless, some can say: "Well, he said this categorically: No, I will not leave Russia, but suddenly he saw the light, and he changed his mind completely." To a certain degree, this is so. But even Boris Nikolayevich supported my refusal. However, afterwards, upon additional reflection (and Yeltsin discussed this problem with President Gorbachev and with the other presidents), they came to the conclusion that they wanted to entrust the leadership of this committee to me. Boris Nikolayevich took the initiative himself. He expressed regret, but the future of the new economic union and the future of Russia depend on who will be there. And he said: "Ivan Stepanovich, however regrettable, you will have to go."

Gosbank Official Describes Bank Reform Options

OW2809032491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Article by Valeriy Martianov: "Point of View: Outlook for Reform of Soviet Banking"; from the "Business Weekly" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A team of experts from the USSR State Bank has begun work on an inter-bank agreement which should result in major reforms of the banking business in the Soviet Union.

"INTERFAX" economic analyst Valeriy Martianov has paid a visit to the USSR State Bank to find out the details.

It should be noted in the first place that the setting up of the team of experts was agreed upon by representatives of central and national banks of all fifteen republics.

In an interview to the economic analyst of "Interfax", Mr Dmitriy Tulin, who heads the Securities Directorate of the USSR State Bank [Gosbank] and is one of the experts on the team, emphasized that this had become possible because all the republics were aware of the need for coordinating their monetary policies whatever their prospects of having their own currencies might be.

UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES

Mr Tulin believes however that the drawing up of an inter-bank agreement requires clarification of a number of key points:

—the need for a sinle monetary policy throuhout the "rouble area" at least during the transition period before some of the republics put in place their own monetary systems, which means in practical terms that decisions taken collectively by the signatories of the inter-bank agreement should have binding force for all of them, including both the republics which intend to sign the interrepublican economic agreement, and those which do not;

—delineation of the spheres of competence of the agencies that will enforce the single monetary policy, that is, which of their decisions will be in the nature of recommendation and which will have binding force; the drawing up of the articles of organisation of these agencies and definition of the manner in which republics will be represented in them;

—procedure and form of inter-bank settlements;

—currency circulation regulations including provisions for eventual introduction by the republics of their own paper money;

—property issues;

—preparation of bank balance sheets and other accounting documents.

LEGAL STATUS OF THE INTER-BANK AGREEMENT

Another critically important matter is the legal status of the agreement. In the opinion of Mr Tulin, it should be an international agreement which, in conformity with international law, would have precedence over the legislation of the republics and decrees of their parliaments.

SUPRANATIONAL BANK VS. BANK ASSOCIATION

According to Mr Tulin, the State Bank of the USSR will no longer exist in its present form. It is even possible that it could be eliminated as a bank altogether. What would then replace it? Two options are being examined at the present time.

One option is to set up a supranational bank (comparable to the European Bank of International Settlements or the International Monetary Fund) in the form of a joint stock company, with the national banks of the republics becoming its stockholders.

Under this approach, the bank would be run by a board made up of the chief executive officers of national republican banks and enforcing its decisions through an Executive Directorate with an organisation similar to that of the State Bank of the USSR.

Another option is to form an association of banks (modelled on the U.S. Federal Reserve System) where both the association itself and all its members would be legal entities.

VOTING PROCEDURES ARE ESSENTIAL

Which of the two options will be chosen largely depends on what kind of voting procedures are established, Mr Tulin says.

Similarly, two approaches have been suggested: either for each republic to have one vote or for the number of votes cast by a republic to be proportional to its economic potential and population (a suggestion put forward by Russia).

If reference is given to the "one republic-one vote" formula, an association of banks is the most likely result (although a supranational bank could also operate on this basis). Otherwise a supranational bank would be set up.

With most of the union republics having declared independence, it would seem that the first approach stands a better chance of being adopted. Mr Tulin believes, however, that the smaller republics will make concessions in this matter because it is impossible to ignore the fact that Russia has a population of next to 140m [million] and accounts for over 60

of the country's national product. If some of the republics are too stubborn in their insistence on the "one republic-one vote" formula, Mr Tulin warns, the large republics might be provoked into position-of-strength policies (monetary and credit expansion, cutting down supplies of inputs, etc.), with disastrous implications for the country's finances and the economy as a whole.

Moreover, the approach advocated by Russia contains what Mr Tulin assesses as a number of very useful elements:

—firstly, it is proposed that the bank's authorised capital (on the share in which the number of votes of a member is to be dependent) be divided into two equal parts, with one half divided equally among the signatories of the inter-bank agreement, and the other half divided in proportion to their economic potentials. Under this arrangement, Russia would get only just over 30 of the votes;

—secondly, it vouid take at least three republics to impose a veto.

Finally, it is obvious enough to Mr Tulin that decisions should be made by a simple majority of votes, and not require a consensus.

He believes that the establishment of a supranational bank is the preferable option since, being a more flexible structure, it would be better equipped to live through the country's political instability and economic crisis.

INTERFAX Reviews News From Exchanges

OW3009034991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2155 GMT 29 Sep 91

[From "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Inter-Republican Universal Exchange [IRUE] in Moscow doubled its sales early this month after closing with more than R5.6 billion worth of deals. Its biggest bargains include the sale of 50.000 tonnes of crude at a total of R30 million, fuel and diesel oil—R 4.8 million, and cable— more than R5 million.

An official for the exchange which is expected to restructure its turnover in line with a routine exchange said IRUE's deal of 42 million cubic metres of gas at a cost of more than R3 million is the country's first on record.

New Exchanges

More than 8 local companies and joint ventures in St Petersburg, formerly Leningrad, have set up what is now called The Russian Medical Equipment Exchange. Officials of its Board of Directors told IF [INTERFAX] that a large number of Western companies offered their products for sale at the new exchange, which will also deal in medical information and technologies.

The Russian Fish Exchange, 70 of whose founders belong to the republic's fisheries, is due to hold its first sales in November. These will be held in sections, including fish products, shipping and freight, commercial information and consumer goods.

The founders of a newly-set up All-Russia Peasants Exchange in Moscow, "Farmer," say its main priority is to give support to farmers, farm cooperatives, and small-size businesses. Its starting capital of R50 million will be split into 1000 shares.

Agricultural

Harvest Progress, Hindrances Reported

924A0003A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The News Center of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food Reports"]

[Text] Bad weather has substantially slowed the harvest of grain crops. The increase across the week in terms of fields threshed was unprecedentedly small—3.7 million hectares. In all, according to data of USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], as of 23 September, 91.2 million hectares of grain and leguminous crops had been cut and 89.3 million hectares had been threshed, or 90 and 88 percent of the sown area respectively.

In the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] 52.2 million hectares of grain and leguminous crops were harvested, and 17.7 million hectares were harvested in Kazakhstan (87 and 80 percent).

There have been 148.4 million tons of grain threshed. Of that, 33.8 million tons have been purchased for state reserves—that is 44 percent of the state order and only 23 percent of the grain that has been threshed. In Russia 18.6 million tons have been purchased—45 percent of the state order and 22 percent of the threshed grain. In the Ukraine the corresponding figures are 10.2 million, 60 percent, and 30 percent, and in Kazakhstan 2 million tons have been purchased by the state, or only 18 percent of threshed grain.

There have been 1.183 million hectares of potatoes dug up—that is 68 percent of the entire area. The harvest is progressing faster than last year's, but the yield—100 quintals per hectare—is eight quintals lower than last year's. In the RSFSR the potatoes have been dug up from 76 percent of the planted area, in the Ukraine—57, in Belorussia—60, and in Kazakhstan—68 percent.

Since the beginning of the year vegetable crops have been harvested from 422,000 hectares (data on the Baltic republics is absent), which makes up 46 percent of the area. The harvest is being held back by the limited acceptance of vegetables at procurement organizations and processing enterprises, where there are not enough packing materials. Railroad stoppages and the arbitrary diversion of resources to local needs are a stumbling block in the transportation of vegetables. The average yield for vegetables throughout the country is 18 quintals less than last year's and consists of 142 quintals per hectare.

There have been 930,000 hectares of sugar beet collected, which is 30 percent of all the plantations. The yield is 194 quintals. The state has purchased 12.6 million tons of the "sweet root." Out of 318 sugar factories, 274 are working. Some 5.6 million tons of the root vegetables have been processed and 520,000 tons of sugar have been manufactured. Last year 703,000 tons of sugar had been produced by this date.

The kolkhozes and sovkhozes are harvesting sunflowers and have concluded the picking of fiber flax. The harvest of rice and cotton continues in the southern republics.

Academician Interviewed on Winter Famine Prospects

LD3009022591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Interview with Academician Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov by reporter Tikhomirov at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet (RSFSR) building; date not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] Are we going to go hungry this winter? Here is an interview with Academician Vladimir Tikhonov. [video shows Tikhomirov talking to Tikhonov outside the RSFSR building, RSFSR state emblem incorporating ears of wheat]

[Tikhomirov] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, I am looking at Russia's coat of arms. It is a symbol, of course, but there is going to be even less grain this year and fewer ears of corn than there were.

[Tikhonov] It is all because the collapsing monopolistic state system is in decay. The collectives and state farms are in decay. There are also monopolies possessing the land and consequently the foodstuffs. They do not allow the work by the average person who would produce these foodstuffs for the market rather than letting them rot. This year you can judge for yourself. There is going to be around 190 million tonnes of grain. In addition, we will buy 10 million. It will not be possible to buy any more. That amounts to 200 million, which is sufficient. How many times have we asked Gorbachev and others to abolish the state order and abolish centralized procurement. [passage omitted]

Last year Starodubtsev frightened everyone, but he succeeded in getting them to boycott the state this year. They wanted to buy 70 million or 60 million tonnes, but all they managed to procure was 29 million tonnes, of which grain for food purposes amounted to no more than 15 million tonnes. The oblasts are used to the state giving them grain. [passage omitted]

The northern areas are indeed threatened by hunger, as are all those that do not grow their own quality food grain.

[Tikhomirov] But is this famine?

[Tikhonov] Think for yourself: 40 million tonnes of quality food grain is needed, but 15 million tonnes has been procured. The remainder is not being sold by the collective farms. [passage omitted] What needs to be done urgently? Abolish the state order and all forms of coercion and provide incentives so that the collective farms sell their grain freely on the commodity exchanges, in whatever way you like, but let them sell it. Let the oblasts establish direct links with the grain growing areas. Let them buy it, at whatever the price. The more grain there is on the market, the lower its price will be. Of course, you are not going to get it for 200 rubles. You will have to pay 500 to 600 rubles a tonne. That is today. What should be done tomorrow? Tomorrow we have to put an end to all this dilatoriness, if you will pardon the expression, the words about—how does it go—the privatization of the land. We must divide the land immediately among people who want to have it. [passage omitted]

[Tikhomirov] This is the picture: Personal market gardens account for just 3 percent of land in our country, yet they provide at least 28 percent of all produce. The collective and state farm hectare produces 200 rubles' worth of output, while the hectare in the private sector accounts for 6,000 rubles. Overall, for some reason or other, the collective farmers work six times more efficiently on their own market garden.

[Tikhonov] The question arises: Which is the more suitable agricultural structure for us—the poverty-stricken collective and state farm structure, or the productive and efficient private structure?

[Tikhomirov] But people do not want to take land today.

[Tikhonov] How are they going to want to do so when bold spirits are ravaged before their very eyes and brought to the brink of death? Who would want to under those conditions?

[Tikhomirov] What decisions have to be made first in order to get some foodstuffs?

[Tikhonov] First of all, we have to find a prime minister to match Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Boris Nikolayevich must not lose the ambition he is accused of having. The prime minister must declare with toughness, directness, and clarity that the law on the private ownership of land has to be implemented and that anyone who puts the brakes on the implementation of this law will have to go before the court for violating or failing to implement the law.

Stavropol Kray Meets State Order for Bread Grain

LD2809223991

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 25 September broadcasts an 8- minute feature on grain procurement. Reception is fair.

The presenter says that in Stavropol around 5 million tonnes of bread grain has been gathered in, and the state order and food levy are close to being met. Correspondent Nikolay Aleksandrovich Shebalko recalls last year's record grain harvest of 6 million tonnes, of which 2.44 million tonnes were handed over to the state. He adds "Of course, as you know, this year's harvest is, unfortunately, a whole million tonnes less than last. Nonetheless, 1.859 million tonnes of grain has been sold." He explains that "of course, there is some difference between this and last year's handover, but nonetheless both the food levy and the state order have been met. Quite simply, last year a great deal of grain was handed over above plan, as they say."

Asked to clarify that the state order and food levy have been met, Shebalko said: "These have already been met. I can guarantee this because our food levy was initially 1.680 million tonnes, but then was lowered a little bit, and the state order was increased. So now we already have the food levy and the state order. True, there are also additional targets - to take grain sales up to 2 million tonnes, but I think that will also be met." Talking about maize for grain, Shebalko added that elevators had already taken delivery of the first 13,500 tonnes of hybrid corn and that 140,000 tonnes would be delivered in all.

The presenter and reporter went on to talk about unfulfilled promises for the producers from the administrative structures. Shebalko then raised the question of grain prices: "Initially, for this year a food levy, as I already said, of 1.680 million tonnes was imposed on Stavropol, and just 110,000 tonnes was the state order. You know that there is one price for each tonne of grain on the food levy—say, 400 rubles per tonne. There is a different state order price—this is double. So, of course, the farmers could see that and were in no hurry to bring in their grain. Even now they are in no particular hurry, as the state is proposing to pay treble the price for state order grain. So they are thinking—all of a sudden it's going to be quadruple. After all, that can't be ruled out."

Shebalko recalls the farmers' discussions of prices this summer and their schemes to hold back grain once the levy was met, as commodity brokers are to be found offering—as some Armenian representatives are—around 6,000 rubles per tonne. The only way out of this, he concludes, is to pay in kind for above-plan produce, as the Russian Government did with its checks exchangeable for consumer durables last year. However, the producers are not seeing these incentives yet, Shebalko says.

Scientific

Tsiklon Rocket Launches Six Satellites 28 Sep

LD2809203591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1936 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—The following artificial earth satellites were launched by the Soviet Union today: "Cosmos-2157", "Cosmos-2158", "Cosmos-2159", "Cosmos-2160", "Cosmos-2161", and "Cosmos-2162". All the satellites were placed into orbit by one "Tsiklon" carrier rocket.

The satellites carry scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The movement of all six satellites is taking place in orbits close to the intended ones with the following initial parameters:

—period of revolution: 114 minutes;

—maximum distance from the surface of the earth (apogee—1,438 kms;

—minimum distance from the surface of the earth (perigee)—1,401 kms;

—orbital inclination: 82.6 degrees.

In addition to scientific apparatus the satellites carry radio systems for the precise measurement of orbital elements and radiotelemetry systems for transmitting data to earth about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Joint Space Project With Germany, France Planned

LD2809071591 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Khrustov]

[Text] Moscow September 27 TASS—Soviet, German and French specialists will fly to the Soviet space centre Plesetsk on Friday to participate in a joint space research programme.

They will conduct the German Kazima-4, Soviet Kashtan and French Sidex projects to produce unique materials, using a Soviet Foton satellite to be launched on October 4.

The flight will last two weeks.

Space Programs Could Cause Interrepublic Disputes

PM2709134791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2018 GMT 25 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer] The constituent conference of the National Aerospace Museum Fund was held in Moscow today. The idea is to bring together hundreds of museums of this type located in various cities throughout the country. The Fund has set itself the task of reconstructing the historical heritage of our aviation and space science.

At the same time the common heritage may become the subject of disputes among republics. Kazakhstan, for example, has already announced that it is setting up its own space agency. To tell the truth, the republic government is still uncertain what the agency will be doing. Similar ministries are being established in Belorussia and the Ukraine.

At the same time representatives of Union structures are saying that it would be better if space exploration were left under the jurisdiction of the Union president, as is the case in the United States and in other countries. [video shows launch pads, a launch of a rocket, cosmodrome]

Radioactive Waste Disposal Violations Detailed

LD2909143591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1731 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Konorov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)—The disposal of radioactive waste in the Barents and Kara Seas took place with infringements of the requirements of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency], Andrey Zolotkov, USSR people's deputy from Murmansk Oblast, has stated.

In a conversation with a TASS correspondent he said that for over a year attempts had been made to resolve this question "at various levels" but in response he had received only formal replies from various official departments.

According to the deputy, the disposal of radioactive waste has taken place over a period of more than 20 years, from 1964 to 1986. Containers, metal components, and equipment from nuclear power installations have been sunk in the region of the Novaya Zemlya archipelago. The nuclear power installation from the Lenin icebreaker was sunk in a container in another bay; the most dangerous part of the reactor is there.

Zolotkov asserts that in violation of the London convention, the sinking of radioactive wastes took place not at the specified distance from the shore, but directly in the bays, where the depth is not sufficient to meet IAEA recommendations. Moreover, the containers should be hermetically sealed and filled with bitumen or liquid glass. This, too, was not done.

According to the deputy, the submerging of the radioactive waste in the bays was carried out for a reason. The point is that it was not possible to move further away from the shores: the seaways were closed off by the proximity of the nuclear testing ground on Novaya Zemlya. Closed off to outside eyes, and even to experts, it was for a long time considered an internal sea of the USSR. But what is required today is civilian research, and not secret expeditions. The Soviet Union, which has shore bases serving atomic icebreakers and submarines, and major works to repair them on the territory of Murmansk and Arkhangelsk Oblasts, also needs major long-term constructions to store radioactive waste, a so-called regional burial site.

My aim, Andrey Zolotkov stated, is to attract the attention of the specialists and of the public to an important problem which is equally topical for many foreign countries. It can be solved only through joint efforts.

Military

Chief of General Staff Discusses Military Reform

LD2809054491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0510 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Studio interview with General Vladimir Lobov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the General Staff, by Yuliy Semenov; from the "Mayak Morning Panorama" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now I hand you over to our observer Yuliy Semenov. As you can imagine, there will be plenty of work for his guest, because the studio telephones have not stopped ringing since 0800 when they were switched on.

[Semenov] To begin with, I would like to remind you of our telephone number: 217-45-93. Good morning! I am speaking both to you, dear listeners, and to the participant in today's "Panorama," Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov. Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov is USSR first deputy defense minister, chief of the General Staff, an Army general and, I would like to point out, a doctor of military sciences and a professor. Did I get all that right, Vladimir Nikolayevich?

[Lobov] Everything was correct! [passage omitted]

[Semenov] I will summarize the first group of questions so as not to list them all: What is your view of military reform? What should the Defense Ministry look like now, from the point of view of the new conditions? Yesterday, many of our listeners, they are readers, too, could familiarize themselves with the interview with the defense minister in PRAVDA, where he stated his position, but we would be interested to hear your position.

[Lobov] Well, I think you can undestand that my position coincides with that of the defense minister, that is the first thing. Secondly, military reform is long overdue. A lot has already been said about it, and much has been written, especially in the last month. What is the intent of military reform, and how do we see it? First of all, our Armed Forces should not be an economic burden on our state. They should be equipped with the latest weapons, naturally, and of course, these weapons should be in the hands of professionals, because weaponry now is so complicated that it is simply beyond the capability of someone who has little to do with it. That is the main thing.

The next thing we are looking at in military reform is that the military should, of course, be largely under the control of civilian authorities, and the military should not interfere in politics. Proceeding from this, we can see that the Defense Ministry can be a civilian one, and it should busy itself with military policy, military diplomacy, shaping the budget, the military economy, and preparing young people for Army service. It should also deal with veterans' organizations and with preparing resources for mobilization. That is, this ministry is responsible for many issues. Military men should, naturally, be in control of the second level, as it were, that is, naturally, we have a supreme commander in chief, the president of our state, and he controls the Armed Forces via the General Staff—although it might be called something else. This body should have a commander in chief, who is chief of the General Staff, and he should be in control of the whole military structure. Control will consist of his seeing to the training for service of people called up to the Army; forming regular detachments, units, and formations; dealing with questions of combat readiness, combat training, and operational training; and, of course, finally, the operational and strategic use of troops. That is what we see as the range of issues that the Defense Ministry and the General Staff could tackle.

[Semenov] As to the continuing debate on whether the Army should be a professional or a semi-professional one, as I understand it this transition will take place in stages, won't it? That is, at some point this natural selection will take place, a natural differentiation between those who wish to extend their period of duty and stay on as professionals, and those who wish to be dimissed into the reserves are free to do so, is that right?

[Lobov] Of course, it cannot be any other way, you understand. What we (?anticipate) is that first a young person should acquire a military speciality. If he does not acquire this, he cannot later transfer to a professional status. We see the solution to this problem as follows: that service could be something in the area of 18 months. Of these 18 months, a young person should spend about six months, as a matter of course, in a training subunit somewhere, it could be some school or military academy of some type. There he acquires a speciality—a driver-mechanic, for example, or operator of some sort of infantry combat equipment, or something else. That is, a military speciality. At the same time, work will be carried out with him, of course, that is, we will be saying to him: Look, you are a young person who is capable of being a professional soldier, we are putting in a recommendation, this is what you would have, what benefits you would have. Then, if he does not agree, he would do another 12 months of conscript service, improving his military specialist skills, and then there would be further work with him, saying: You are capable, go on—and he might see it for himself and agree. So there are two such points. Maybe if he does leave the service we could again try to persuade him to come back. So there you are. We would gradually become a professional Army. [passage omitted]

Lobov Addresses Foreign Military Attaches

PM2909181091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by S. Mushkaterov: "Army on the Brink of Reforms; Chief of General Staff Tells Military Attaches What It Will Be Like"]

[Text] Last Thursday Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, met with the heads of foreign military diplomatic missions in Moscow. He talked about the plans for military reforms, in particular the restructuring of Army structures, which, he believes, must be embarked on immediately.

V. Lobov said that of the many proposed options two now remain, which the experts are continuing to work on. The Union president will be supreme commander in chief. According to the first option, he will have two channels for running military affairs: the Defense Ministry, whose staff, including the minister, will comprise civilians; and the General Staff—the actual military structure. The ministry could be a collective organ, with representatives of all the sovereign republics participating in its work. It might comprise committees, for example, on questions of military economy and industry, on civil defense, and others. The bodies controlling the branches of the armed forces will be subordinate to the general or combined staff. Approximately the same model will be kept at other levels, if we are looking at the vertical structure.

The second option also assumes that the defense minister will be a civilian, there will be the relevant civilian committees under him, but the military structures will also be subordinate to him.

Yet these are only plans at the moment, and, as V. Lobov said, the possibility of the creation of another one based on them, incorporating the most rational elements from the two existing plans, is not ruled out. At the same time, he firmly stated that the center would still have control of all nuclear arsenals.

According to the chief of the General Staff, the system of military districts is obsolete. The following structure is proposed: One sovereign republic, one district, one commander. This could enhance each republic's role in the solution of defense questions.

V. Lobov favored a gradual transition to a professional army and a reduction of the term of service to 18 months, as in many other countries. During that period some servicemen would be able, if they so wished, to conclude long-term contracts. It is proposed that this process will start next year, perhaps with the spring draft. However, the new system will be introduced gradually, as the Army "fills up" with professionals. After that there could be a switch to 12-month service.

V. Lobov noted the importance of expanding military contacts with foreign states, which will help strengthen trust and, consequently, security. He also noted the need for serious talks on the reduction of tactical weapons.

The chief of the General Staff answered some questions, one of which was: In conditions where the budget will comprise contributions from sovereign republics, could the central military structure receive less money than it hopes to get? V. Lobov replied: We assume we will have a single economic space, which must have a single military space as well. All the questions will be specifically mentioned in the treaty.

Defense Industry To Be Cut 5.6 Billion Rubles

LD2809085791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 28 Sep 91

[Text] On 27 September, after the sitting of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, Arkadiy Volskiy, a member of the committee, announced in an RIA interview that the decision had been made to reduce expenditure on the defense industry by 5.6 billion rubles [R]. However, Volskiy stressed, this is but kopeks, as that expenditure needs to be cut by R120 billion.

Defense Minister Pledges Better Service Life

PM2709125591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview in Moscow with Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, by special correspondent Yelena Agapova; date not given; first 11 paragraphs are reprint of interview from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 January 1990: "'We Will Submit Questions of Social Protection for Consideration by the State Council'"]

[Text] From an interview with Lieutenant General of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 27 January 1990: "Height of Flight."

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Did you wait long for an apartment in Moscow?

[Shaposhnikov] I still do not have one. I have been waiting for more than a year now. (At that time Shaposhnikov was chairman of the Air Force Central Housing Commission—Ye.A.).

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] What type of aircraft did you fly?

[Shaposhnikov] I am a fighter pilot... Even now I am fit to fly, with no restrictions.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Did you always act according to instructions?

[Shaposhnikov] Instructions are something sacred to a pilot. But there are situations in the air which are not envisaged in any instructions. We had such an instance when I was commanding a large strategic formation. The pilot of a transport aircraft with a group of officers on board made a mistake on takeoff. The tires on the main wheels burst. They reported to me that they had enough fuel for three hours. What was to be done? According to the instructions, when the wheels are damaged you have to retract the landing gear and perform a "belly" landing on a dirt strip. Anything can happen when you do that. An accident, a fire, engine damage... I telephoned Moscow. I called Kiev, the Antonov Design Bureau. Everywhere I received this answer: Act according to the instructions. But I had a certain intuitive feeling that something different was needed. I made the decision to land on the main wheels on an ordinary strip. Both the men and the aircraft were saved.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] But it could have ended differently, and then you would have had a hard time of it.

[Shaposhnikov] Certainly.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA] Now, in this post, do you still say in such cases: Act according to the instructions?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, not always (he smiles)... I run through various options and seek the way out. In flight work, too, there is creativity, and there are situations when you have to take responsibility. In the case of the burst tires there were lots of advisers. But when I made the decision, I found myself alone at the control desk...

[Agapova] During the well-known days of August 1991 General Shaposhnikov, to the Army's credit, did not find himself alone "at the control desk." But he was one of the first among the high-ranking military men to say: The Army will not march against the people. It is this 49-year-old, who has broken many customary stereotypes, who now personifies the conscience and reason of our Armed Forces. And the hope that the military man will, at last, obtain social guarantees and rights. On my way to Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov along the long corridors of the building on the Arbat I could not put such thoughts out of my head. As well as, incidentally, the thought that it had proved quite simple to arrange a meeting with the defense minister. No long process of reaching agreement. I telephoned at 1500 and heard an amicable voice: "I will expect you at 1700 today..."

Facts and figures. In the very near future the strength of our Armed Forces could be reduced to 3 million men. In the Army and Navy today there are 185,400 servicemen without apartments. Approximately 80,000 officers and ensigns being withdrawn from the Western and Northern Groups of Forces do not have apartments. There are 7,600 without apartments among the troops stationed on the territory of the Baltic region.

It is just over one month since the putsch. An insignificant length of time. So it certainly has nbot been long enough for the new democratic leadership of the Defense Ministry to instantly rid the Army of chronic diseases and to extricate the thousands and thousands of disenfranchised people in shoulder boards and their families from the social dead end in which they find themselves. I am sure that everyone understands this. So today we only have the right to put the question this way: How, in what way, is it possible in this unprecedented situation to reduce the strain and to accord servicemen more or less civilized living and service conditions? We turned to the leader of the Ministry of Defense for first-hand information.

[Shaposhnikov] Our first step under these conditions is to raise the pay of all officers and ensigns and free them from paying income taxes. This measure is being introduced as of 1 October by decree of the USSR president. There has never been such a one-time raise in the entire history of the Armed Forces. An officer will receive pay that is 30-40 percent more per month than today. Of course, we intend to continue to do everything to improve the material position of servicemen.

[Agapova] The pay raise is very opportune, but the housing problem is even more painful for many servicemen. In Moscow, for example...

[Shaposhnikov] There are hopes that the number of people waiting in line for apartments in Moscow will fall from 10,000 to 3,000 over three years. Moscow Mayor Popov proposes this option: to set aside land in Moscow Oblast for officers transferred to the reserve. True, on condition that the transfer is known about three years in advance. But we propose to allow the payment of a sum commensurate with the cost of housing to an officer without an apartment who is being transferred. Anatoliy Sobchak has also put an interesting idea to me. He can station a division subject to reduction along the fast highway being constructed from St. Petersburg to Vyborg. He can provide the people with apartments and sociocultural and consumer services, so that they will settle and work along the route. We are now getting many such suggestions. I believe that certain knots can be unraveled with their help. On my instructions stock is now being taken of all housing and barrack premises. There are many training camps and housing premises that lie empty between courses. Someone going on a course can live in a tent, in a situation approximating to a combat situation, as the saying goes. And the housing must be given to those without apartments.

There is also the idea of releasing for social needs money from the party cash box which has been transferred to the Defense Ministry balance sheet. But, of course, this requires the consent of the former communists.

[Agapova] How do things stand with the construction of houses for servicemen by foreign firms?

[Shaposhnikov] I recently met with Genscher. I spoke, in particular, about delays in the construction of homes for the families of officers being withdrawn from East Europe. He was understanding about this problem, expressed readiness to assist in resolving it, and asked to be kept informed about the progress of construction.

[Agapova] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you know better than anyone the grave housing situation for military pilots. And this despite the fact that military transport aircraft earn big money by transporting national economic freight. Will they ever be able to have control of this money?

[Shaposhnikov] We recently adopted this decision: The Air Force will receive 70 percent of the money earned, and the Ministry of Defense will get 30 percent for the social needs of officers that you mention.

[Agapova] About Western aid. Democratic Senator Moynihan proposes the elimination of our nuclear arsenals in return for extensive aid. Congressman Aspin advances the idea of allocating $1 billion from the Pentagon budget. How would you comment on these statements?

[Shaposhnikov] Do you remember this well-known phrase: Don't teach me how to live, better give me something to live on? (He smiles). But, to be serious, no one has yet put such proposals to me. But let us assume that it happens. What do we do? I will say this: If there are provisos and conditions, we must not accept aid.

[Agapova] We frequently turn to the experience of other countries now. There is a strong system of support for families in the U.S. Armed Forces, for example. What is it planned to change in this respect in our country?

[Shaposhnikov] We plan to set up a committee for the legal and social protection of servicemen and their family members within the Union Ministry of Defense. We are tackling this in earnest. This committee, in my opinion, must be independent of the deputy defense ministers and troop commanders. I have also already spoken repeatedly of the need to unify the process of education and training—which has not happened in our Army before. It will now, I assure you. An integral system of combat training and of military and moral-psychological training organs is being set up. Being an educator is not only a profession but also a state of mind. We have people like that.

[Agapova] Chaplains of a kind?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, we probably will not go so far as having chaplains. Although I will not reject their help if it is concrete. Now I would very much like all officers and men to understand that everyone has the right to his own thoughts and convictions. No one is permitted to impose them on another. Still less by physical force. Everyone must know that anyone who is violent toward another individual must inevitably answer according to the law. If everyone is aware of this truth, we will be able to overcome a lot of problems, including bullying.

[Agapova] Yeltsin's ordinance on strengthening social protection for servicemen on Russian territory and Kravchuk's measures in the same vein provide hope of some improvement in the lives of families. Do you have any plans to ensure that other republics follow their example?

[Shaposhnikov] We propose something else—to submit questions of servicemen's social protection for consideration by the State Council in the next few months.

Decree Creates Servicemen's Affairs Committee

LD2709183991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] USSR President Gorbachev has issued a decree on creating a USSR presidential committee for the affairs of servicemen and their families. It has been created in response to numerous appeals from servicemen and members of their families and proposals made by the All-Union Council of Servicemen's Parents, with consideration given to the conclusions drawn by a special commission for examinining the objectivity and thoroughness of the investigation conducted into the cause of deaths and injuries among servicemen and military construction workers during peacetime and bearing in mind the need for radical improvement in the social and legal protection of servicemen and their families. It also aims to provide efficient control over the state of affairs in this area.

Baltic Affairs

Lithuania, Estonia Establish New Visa Regulations

OW2809153391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's Foreign Ministry is drafting a new regulation for issuing and obtaining visas. The cost of entry visa for a foreigner will be equal to the sum charged by his state for a visa to a Lithuanian citizen. The draft is expected to be soon ratified by the republic's parliament.

At present Lithuania issues entry visas gratis.

Entry visas to Lithuania can be obtained in Warsaw, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo, London, Washington, Los Angeles, and the Vatican. Information offices in those places will be given the status of Lithuania's embassies, as in Washington.

Estonia's Foreign Ministry is introducing a system of invitations beginning from next month. To obtain a visa one will need an invitation from a private person, enterprise, or organisation. Tourists will obtain visas through tourist companies. Transit visas will be given subject to a USSR visa.

Entry visas will be issued by Estonia's embassies, also by the embassies of Finland and Sweden. Foreign nationals will also be able to get entry visas at the Tallinn air- and sea-ports.

KGB Structures in Baltics To Be Dissolved

LD2709224491 Moscow TASS in English 2156 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By correspondent Oleg Kulikov]

[Text] Moscow September 28 TASS—Structures of the KGB of the USSR will soon be dissolved in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Nikolay Stolyarov, deputy chairman of the KGB of the USSR, told a news conference.

Stolyarov said that the former union republics so far have no concept of security, but when they form secret structures of their own, which they cannot avoid, local agents will have a right to join them. He said that as they are high professionals, secret services of any state can gain by employing them. In this case the centre will not use sanctions against them if they pledge themselves not to use their knowledge to the detriment of the agency which had formerly employed them.

Conciliatory commissions dissolving the KGB structures are already functioning in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Stolyarov said. The main work to this effect should be completed by early 1992. In future relations of the KGB of the centre or, if it does not exist, of the KGB of Russia with the secret services of the former union repubics will be built just as with other countries. They will cooperate.

USSR KGB Official Comments

OW2709185791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference in Moscow Friday, Deputy Chairman of the USSR KGB Nikolay Stolyarov said that the main questions concerning the liquidation of the KGB in the Baltics will be resolved by the end of 1991.

"The complete liquidation of the KGB in the Baltic states is in perspective", he noted.

Mr. Stolyarov said that joint commissions consisting of Baltic and the USSR KGB representatives have been set up to tackle this problem. They will control the transfer of the KGB's property, including arms, to the republics, as well as provide employment and housing for former KGB servicemen. Mr. Stolyarov pointed out that the USSR KGB is prepared to pay for the resettlement of KGB servicemen who would like to leave the Baltics.

Answering a question if the information about KGB agents in the republics will be made public, Mr. Stolyarov said that this information will remain secret.

Touching upon the problem of archives, Mr. Stolyarov emphasized that "the KGB will return part of the documents of historical value to the republics".

Asked by a BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent about the control of the borders in the Baltics, Mr. Stolyarov said that the USSR and the Baltics had agreed that Soviet border troops will temporarily continue to control the borders along with the border protection services of the republics. "As soon as, for example, the Lithuanian Home Defense Department is able to control Lithuania's borders on its own, Soviet border troops will be withdrawn", Mr. Stolyarov assured. He stressed that they had remained in the republics at the request of the Baltics' governments.

He also said that Soviet border troops "are being transferred out of the USSR KGB's control and obtain an independent status".

Yakovlev, Baltic Leaders View Talks

PM3009092991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by G. Alimov: "USSR-Baltic: Preparations for Interstate Talks Begin"]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has appointed by decree leaders of the USSR state delegations to the talks with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. They are Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev, and Anatoliy Sobchak respectively. The president has ordered that suggestions be submitted within the week regarding the composition of the delegations and the procedure for and content of the talks.

M. Gorbachev's choice of well-known prestigious figures as leaders for these delegations is, in the opinion of many experts, logical, although it came as a surprise to some. These decrees do credit to both the president and those people who agreed to work in this field. Moscow is directly indicating that it intends to hold talks in an open, earnest, constructive manner.

During a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, commenting on the president's decision, said that the "Baltic problem"—that complex, long-standing, tangled (sometimes artificially, sometimes not) problem—is now coming under the practical influence of democratic forces. That is in itself a good thing, he remarked. This fact in itself, however, does not remove the problems. And there are plenty of them.

[IZVESTIYA] In your view, what problems will be the subject of the talks?

[Yakovlev] We must reach agreement with Latvia's leaders on this. We will work together to decide and agree the content of the talks, the whole range of issues of interest to both sides. I think (and I have said this publicly on several occasions) that in this case the main thing is equal rights for everyone living in the republic.

[IZVESTIYA] Are you optimistic?

[Yakovlev] If you are pessimistic, you have to abandon this serious, important work altogether. There is no other way out for me. I think that we will be able to reach a civilized agreement with the Latvian side on all points. The results of the talks will not only be of intrarepublic significance. I am not saying that we are facing easy problems. There will be plenty of work for us to do here.

[IZVESTIYA] What will the membership of the delegation be like?

[Yakovlev] I don't think that it will be very large, probably no more than 10 people. They should include lawyers, economists, diplomats, military men...

[IZVESTIYA] When may the talks begin?

[Yakovlev] The dates do not only depend on us. They must be agreed by both sides. But I think that everyone is interested in their beginning as rapidly as possible... [Yakovlev ends].

What is the reaction in Latvia to the appointment of new leaders—the USSR's representatives at the talks with the Baltic states?

Our correspondent I. Litvinova reports that Andrejs Krastins, deputy chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, said that the parliament has formed a working group to formulate a concept for talks and the composition of the delegation at these talks. The Supreme Soviet Presidium will meet 26 September and the question of talks may be raised there. A strategic group from the People's Front faction, a session of which will be held the following day, will also discuss it. It is only after careful discussion that both the approach and the membership of the Latvian delegation will take definite form. It will be ratified at a plenary session of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

"Sobchak—that's very good!" Jaak Leimann, Estonian minister of economic affairs, (he is acting head of government owing to the prime minister's departure) did not hide his delight at the appointment of the leader of the USSR state delegation to the talks with Estonia.

"Anatoliy Sobchak's appointment is a very agreeable and, I am sure, correct decision," he told IZVESTIYA's correspondent L. Levitskiy. "We have established good relations and professional contacts with him as the leader of a major neighboring region. We have signed a cooperation treaty with Leningrad Oblast and Leningrad. Both the members of the government and many parliamentarians respect Anatoliy Sobchak as a person profoundly committed to democracy. I personally am sure that the talks between the Soviet and Estonian delegations will now be fruitful and creative. The main thing is to start them rapidly."

To date the editorial office has still not received any reports about the official Lithuanian authorities' reaction to E. Shevardnadze's appointment. But it is not very hard to imagine that this reaction will be well-disposed. But once again this fact gives no grounds for expecting easy talks. There are many questions and most of them will not, of course, be resolved overnight.

Still, it is good that things are getting moving...

Stolyarov Cited on KGB Withdrawal

PM3009113791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by S. Mostovshchikov under "Details for IZVESTIYA" rubric: "Removal of KGB From Baltic Will Begin Before New Year"]

[Text] The cost of KGB installations, special equipment, and weapons in the Baltic republics is estimated at millions of rubles. Along with its Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian branches, Moscow will also have to part with these millions; however, we have no intention of presenting one another with any invoices, Nikolay Stolyarov, Vadim Bakatin's deputy for personnel questions, told journalists 27 September at a news conference at the KGB.

He has just returned from a two-day tour of the Baltic, during which he confirmed the Soviet authorities' intention of totally winding up KGB organs in the three independent republics.

After the news conference Nikolay Stolyarov gave IZVESTIYA an interview during which he said that all details and formalities will be straightened out before the end of the year. KGB organs in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania will probably begin to be wound up within the same period.

According to Nikolay Stolyarov, the main problem is by no means the buildings, equipment, and weapons—which will be handed over to the Baltic almost entirely free of charge—but the people. KGB personnel who want to leave must be found jobs, and housing must also be found for them in their new place of work. Stolyarov did not say how many of these personnel there are, but he did say that hundreds of people are involved. It is by no means that simple to solve their problems, but Estonia, for instance, is even willing to help in building homes for security officers who return to the Union.

The deputy chief of the KGB said that the talks with the leaders of the three republics went differently in each of the republics, but mutual understanding was reached everywhere.

When asked whether the KGB would engage in intelligence activity in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which are becoming autonomous states, Nikolay Stolyarov replied:

"I assure you that this possibility is not even being discussed. It is very important for us to restore the Baltic republics' trust. That is why the slightest imprudent step will be dangerous for future normal cooperation."

Estonia

Government, Parliament Conflict Over Envoys Noted

LD2809042191 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn September 27 TASS—The ceremony to present credentials by the Estonian plenipotentiary ambassador to the Swedish King Carl Gustaf, scheduled for September 26, was put off because the ambassador was found not to possess his credentials. This happened due to the lack of coordination of actions between the Estonian Foreign Ministry and parliament: the ambassador was appointed by Minister Lennart Meri personally without the knowledge of the Supreme Soviet and before the procedure for the appointment of diplomatic representatives abroad was elaborated and endorsed.

All in all, Estonia has four ambassadors abroad—in Sweden, Germany, Iceland and the United Nations, according to the Estonian Foreign Ministry. The Estonian parliament presidium considers, however, that Estonia has only one ambassador for the present—Ernst Jakobson in the United Nations. Only Jakobson was appointed by the state government body. As for the rest, Estonia has only received applications from countries of their would-be tour of duty.

This uncoordination of actions and the government's continual moves to put itself ahead of parliament are ruinous for Estonia's prestige and compromise it in the eyes of the world community, Supreme Soviet leader Arnold Ruutel thinks. He believes the order should be scrupulously observed: the Foreign Ministry selects a candidate for the post of ambassador and the head of government presents him to the presidium for endorsement. Any other procedure is fraught with further misunderstandings and unncessary excesses.

If the abrogation of the ceremony in Stockholm can be listed among excesses, a report that Estonia has allegedly recognised the sovereignty of Slovenia may have more serious consequences, thinks Indrek Toome, chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs commission. Like many of his colleagues he learnt about this recognition from newspapers on September 26.

It appeared later that this recognition comes from the government and made its way into the press via the channels of the Foreign Ministry press service. "The government assumes a very great responsibility because it is a recognition on the part of the state which is a member of the United Nations Organisation," Toome said.

He thinks the Estonian Government ought to be put on its guard at least by the fact that no other world state has yet recognised Slovenia.

Right-Wing Parties Form Coalition

LD2909163691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] An electoral coalition of the right-wing parties of the fartherland has been created in Estonia. It includes the United Republican, Christian Democratic, and Conservative People's Parties. Also, a council of the coalition has been created which includes representatives of the three parties and which will make decisions on a consensus basis. Indrik Kanik, one of the leaders of the United Republican Party, told BALTFAX that the aim of creating a coalition was the unification of the right-wing forces before the parliametary elections in Estonia slated for next year. He also said that he thinks that the Liberal Democratic Party of Estonia will also join the coalition.

Latvia

Godmanis Meets With USSR KGB Chairman

OW2709164491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1240 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis met with USSR KGB chairman Vadim Bakatin in Moscow on September 27. It is known from Latvian sources that they discussed transferring control of Latvia's borders to Latvia.

Mr. Godmanis is also to meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Victor Barannikov in Moscow.

The premier is accompanied to Moscow by head of the Latvian Republic's Social Security Department Janis Baskers, Mikhail Stepichev, deputy chairman of the Latvian parliament's commission for domestic and defense affairs and the premier's adviser Aivars Borovkovs.

Meets Bakatin, Yakovlev in Moscow

LD2809195391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Ivars Godmanis, head of the Government of Latvia, today in met in Moscow with USSR KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin. A document was signed on the liquidation of the KGB structures in Latvia.

Meeting Aleksandr Yakovlev, who will head the USSR delegation in the talks with the Republic of Latvia, Godmanis discused the program of the interstate talks.

Together with Internal Affairs Minister Aloizs Vaznis, the prime minister also met with USSR Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Barannikov, and Russian Internal Affairs Minister Dunayev.

Ivars Godmanis received Sumio Edamura, the Japanese ambassador to the USSR. A visit to Riga by a Japanese delegation which is expected at the beginning of October was discussed.

Godmanis Cited on Currency Introduction

LD3009090191 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Ivars Godmanis, Council of Ministers chairman of the Republic of Latvia, informed journalists at a news conference that the lats [Latvian currency unit] could come into circulation in Latvia in the second half of next year. He noted that the national currency is being regarded as a symbol of state independence. At the same time Godmanis denied the possibility that the three Baltic states that regained independence could agree on using a common currency. Also, at present, printing of money in one of the Baltic republics is not being considered; foreign countries are being considered instead.

Ivars Godmanis emphasized that at present the most important thing is to ensure that the lats would have a realistic cover and could become a convertible currency. The first stage, then, would be the internal convertibility of the lats, i.e., that it would be freely exchangeable against any other firmly convertible currency. In turn, the next stage would be the external convertibility of the lats, making it exchangeable against all the major currencies of the world. For this purpose it is, of course, necessary first of all to increase the stocks of commodities to cover the money with commodities and also to have a gold cover for the money.

Ivars Godmanis said there is a long road ahead to obtain credit in the biggest world organizations of the world. This demands a thorough analysis of the republic's economic and political system and human rights, even as far as the law on citizenship. He did not deny that in the future possible external debts of Latvia would have to be settled, but according to experts' calculations these would not be especially big for Latvia.

Deputy Chairman Krastins Views Political Scene

PM3009094991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview in Riga with Andrejs Krastins, deputy chairman of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet, by correspondent I. Litvinova; date not given: "Latvia: Gains and Losses on Way to Europe"]

[Text] [Litvinova] Mr. Krastins, in an interview which you granted to IZVESTIYA in April of this year you said with conviction that Latvia would restore its independence de facto already in 1991. Such a prognosis struck many people as unrealistic, but six months have passed and it has been borne out in full. Will you risk making a new political prognosis?

[Krastins] I am enabled to do so by the guarantees which Latvia has received both from the Soviet Union and from the Western community.

So, before the end of the year we must prepare for the full withdrawal of the USSR Armed Forces from our territory. We will start with military educational institutions, and then it will be the turn of the rest of the military subunits. I believe that we will have defined the timing of this process by November.

At the end of the year we will start tackling the sensible distribution of the credits and aid which the West has guaranteed us. As a result, we will be able to halt the decline in the living standards of Latvia's population. An improvement in our economic situation will evidently come about toward next summer.

I expect there to be some difficulties over the management and realization of state power in the republic. It will be necessary to create the new structures of a now fully independent state and to demolish the old ones. And this will inevitably affect human destinies. It will be a complex process. In two-three years' time Latvia will become a full and independent member of all the European communities—economic, political, and, maybe, military. We will not yet have attained the living standards of developed countries, but our state structures and the development of private capital will have approached the required level. A noticeable improvement in the population's well-being and Latvia's prestige as a state in Europe—these are tasks which we will be able to resolve over some five years.

[Litvinova] Will Latvian citizens be able to enter European countries without a visa?

[Krastins] Such consultations have been held. As soon as our borders acquire a status of full value and we introduce a register of our population within a definite framework, a free road will open up before us. But at present our borders are more or less conditional, and no sober-minded state would agree to a preferential regime for the Latvian Republic.

[Litvinova] The parliament and government of independent Latvia henceforth have a new degree of responsibility and new tasks. How do you see the program for the immediate months?

[Krastins] Above all, the optimization of the structures of state power and management. The Latvian state must be defended by armed forces, border guards, and a security service. The border troops will not only guard the borders but also fulfill purely military tasks within the republic.

In the future we want to become a demilitarized zone, but this certainly does not mean that Latvia will become a neutral state. We are not so rich and strong that we can be neutral.

The reform of the economy will include privatization, nationalization, and denationalization—depending on the previous owner. We must master the art of managing the property which has come down to us from the USSR. The fleet, ports, transport communications—we must manage these assets sensibly so as to make the maximum profit for Latvia, as well as giving possible users from abroad an interest.

Because we are independent, our financial system must be independent too. At the start of the summer we placed an order for Latvian bank notes to be printed. The delivery time—18 months—does not suit us now, for we want to introduce our own currency far sooner. We will have to incur additional costs, but we will obtain the bank notes far more quickly. We hope to create our own reliable banking system, which will be able to issue a quality currency, as well as providing credit.

And the last of the priority tasks. We will tackle the communications system. Until now all communication with the outside world has been exclusively through Moscow. We do not know of any further conditions on the part of the USSR or Russia in this sphere, and so there is an urgent need for a communications system independent of Moscow, albeit a temporary one. Otherwise we will be unable to attract foreign capital to open embassies, firms, and missions.

[Litvinova] The official newspaper DIENA cited Yeltsin's statement that, although Latvia is leaving the USSR, in his opinion relations between the two republics will shape up far more favorably than with many others which are staying in the USSR. Nevertheless, the treaty between Latvia and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], which was signed in January, has still not been ratified by the Russian Parliament. With what is this linked?

[Krastins] Russian deputies have had a difficult spring and summer in the political sense. They simply have not gotten around to the treaty. We have to meet together once again to discuss changes to some articles and to draw up additional protocols to the treaty. To the question of borders, for example. We bypassed this problem in January, but it must be raised now.

[Litvinova] That is, Latvia continues to claim the return of the former Abrene Uyezd, now Pskov Oblast's Pytalovskiy Rayon?

[Krastins] The situation is rather complex. True, we have no juridical doubts: In restoring our independence in full, we must assert the illegality of the incorporation of eight volosts [subdivision of uyezd] of Abrene Uyezd into the RSFSR. We will have a very earnest discussion about these territories. Since Japan is having one with Russia over the northern territories, we too are in earnest.

[Litvinova] The Supreme Soviet will evidently lay down its powers ahead of schedule. Elections to the Sejm are approaching. Only citizens of Latvia will be able to participate in them. Various viewpoints are being aired in the press. Visvaldis Lacis, leader of the movement for national independence, for example, expressed himself very definitely: "Russians frequently ask me: 'Will we now be second-class citizens?' No, you are not second-class citizens. You are not citizens at all. You are nobody." Arguments are also going on in the People's Front faction. There are also deputies who advocate the "zero option"—to grant citizenship to all who now live in Latvia. How, nonetheless, do you think that this agonizing question for the population will be resolved?

[Krastins] The earliest the elections to the Sejm can take place, in my view, is 1993. It is logical that only citizens of this state will elect the republic's top organ.

Having restored the independence of the Latvian state, we must also restore its citizenship. This is a painful process which will affect many sections of the population. And not only on the territory of Latvia. I mean Lettish emigres—in the West and the East. We must also take an interest in those Letts who ended up outside Latvia even before World War I—in Bashkiria, for example, or in the Far East.

About citizenship. We will definitely reinstate it for those who possessed it in Latvia prior to 1940 and also for their descendants. We will extend the circle of citizens by way of mixed marriages and the children born in such families, and we will recognize as citizens orphans born in Latvia and foundlings.

Latvia, like any state, seeks to be a national state. For it is this that determines independence. Any Lett who wishes to settle in the Latvian Republic will receive citizenship without any other preconditions. Even without knowing the Lettish language.

Now about persons of other nationalities who came to Latvia after 1940. We totally exclude servicemen, for example, from those who will receive citizenship.

[Litvinova] Does this also apply to those who are no longer serving?

[Krastins] Yes, to all who have come to Latvia along military lines during these 50 years, including reserve officers. It will be difficult for former employees of the KGB and other militarized structures to obtain citizenship. In no way can we automatically grant citizenship to those categories of persons who opposed independence. Although many of them are welcoming it equally ardently.

[Litvinova] How can you determine who opposed independence?

[Krastins] The mechanism is rather complex and not yet entirely clear. We will probably start with a register of the inhabitants of Latvia. Everyone will have to give an answer—where he came to Latvia from and why, which country he is a citizen of, what his intentions are, etc. For we must know how many aspirants to Latvian citizenship we have among the republic's inhabitants. And then we will investigate each case individually.

[Litvinova] The RSFSR leadership has advanced the thesis that Russians living outside that republic will also be able to acquire citizenship of it. Will the rights of Russian citizens living in Latvia differ from those that Latvian citizens possess?

[Krastins] We guarantee all political freedoms, but not all political rights. The same also applies to certain privileges in the economy, the social sphere, etc. Russian citizens in Latvia will have the same rights as citizens of China or Britain.

[Litvinova] Is dual citizenship possible—of Russia and Latvia?

[Krastins] No.

[Litvinova] The basis of a rule-of-law state is compliance with laws. But the laws which have been adopted recently on, for example, the disbandment of disloyal soviets—three of them have already been dissolved—have elicited a negative response from our Western colleagues, for example. Deputy Boyars has surmised that, given such an approach, it is not far off turning Latvia into a police state. Parliament has also assumed judicial functions that are not characteristic of it: It has banned the Communist Party and some public organizations, approved without negotiations the expropriation of USSR property on its territory... It is evidently necessary to comment on such actions of parliament, is it not?

[Krastins] It is a revolutionary situation—this says it all.

[Litvinova] Could the Latvian Communist Party exist in the future?

[Krastins] I think not. It has shown its hopelessness. This is more possible in the West, where a handful of cranks professing such a strange ideology will gather.

[Litvinova] Like other journalists of foreign states, I will soon have to seek accreditation in the Latvian Republic. The new Latvian authorities' adherence to international documents in various spheres has been declared repeatedly. Will this principle be extended also to the activities of journalists, whose accreditation, according to the Vienna agreements, can only be prevented by espionage activity on the territory of the state where they are working?

[Krastins] I do not think you have any cause to worry: The Latvian Republic will adhere to all generally accepted norms and laws in respect of journalists' activities. But special consideration will, of course, be given to the case of each correspondent. Mistakes are possible at first, but we intend, on the whole, to abide by legislation, including international legislation.

Rubiks Ends Hunger Strike, Health 'Satisfactory'

LD2909142191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Alfred Rubiks, former Latvian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, ended his hunger strike of many days. He is under investigation and in confinement on charges of treason. The Human Rights Commission of the republic's Supreme Soviet has visited him and found the prisoner's state of health satisfactory. Rubiks has asked for a Russian lawyer as he does not trust the local bodies.

Rubiks To Face 'Political Trial'

OW2709212791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Dimanis, the leader of the opposition "Equal Rights" group in the Latvian Parliament, which prior to the coup in the USSR spoke out against Latvian independence, said at a press conference in Riga that the trial of former Latvian Communist Party Chief Alfred Rubiks will be "a political trial (and) the facts will be falsified". Rubiks was one of the first to come out in support of the putschists and is now under arrest pending legal proceedings against him. Sergey Dimanis is convinced that the investigators "will first decide the punishment and then prepare the factual material".

At the same press conference the "Equal Rights" representatives protested to the Latvian Prosecutor General's office for the inadequate information about the health of the former Communist leader. Rubiks' wife told the opposition group that her husband had been complaining of heart pains since the first day of his imprisonment. He had not suffered from heart complaints previously. Reports have appeared in the press that Rubiks has begun a hunger strike in prison.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Unsure on Nuclear Weapon Deployment

LD3009130691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 29 Sep 91

[By correspondent Audrius Matonis]

[Excerpts] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis reported on his visit to Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, at a Supreme Council news conference yesterday [28 September]. He also spoke about visiting Riga on the way home, which lasted several hours. [passage omitted]

"First of all, however, Lithuania must know how many and what kind of Soviet troops are deployed here. This is necessary both for ensuring people's safety and for carrying out world committments. It is necessary to know if it is true that nuclear weapons are not deployed in Lithuania. The same can be said about chemical, bacteriological, or any other type of weapons. Besides, it may happen that to carry out an efficient and undelayed control of such weapons, specialists or technical equipment will not be available here in Lithuania. In this case, special help from other countries might be needed." [passage omitted]

Polish Delegation Arrives; Seeks Support

LD2909140591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Interview with AUSRA editor Alicija Sitarskiene by unidentified announcer in Vilnius—live]

[Text] [Announcer] A group of Polish Lithuanians is visiting Lithuania. Alicija Sitarskiene, editor of AUSRA newspaper—published in Poland—is at the microphone. You came to Lithuania looking for support and help. What support do you need now?

[Sitarskiene] Lithuanians in Poland are now experiencing difficult times, and we have been looking for support and help in our state—Poland—but without success. Our requests are often being ignored. A long letter containing our requests was presented to Polish President Lech Walesa last March, but so far we have not received a reply. Copies of this letter were sent to the Sejm and Senate, and we met Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, with whom we talked about our problems. However, the solution of these problems is not favorable. In brief, the esteemed speaker told us that not a single problem requiring finances would be solved.

[Announcer] Is your society unable to manage with its own funds?

[Sitarskiene] It is unable. There are not many Lithuanians in Poland: There are about 10-15,000 Lithuanians in Suwalki Voivodship, in Punsk region, while others are dispersed all over Poland. There are branches of the Lithuanian Cultural Society in Warsaw, Wroclaw, Szczecin, and Gdansk. In all these towns, the cost of living is very high. These branches do not have their own premises, and the rents are exceptionally high. They cannot even afford to maintain premises where they meet to talk and sing Lithuanian songs. There cannot be talk about any other activity. The Lithuanian Cultural Society is not being financed this year. It does not receive a single penny from the Ministry of Culture and Arts, which helped with financing in the past.

[Announcer] Regarding other national minorities in Poland, are their cultural activities being financed?

[Sitarskiene] Everyone's situation is similiar. However, it is better for other national minorities in that their ethnic states are stronger. For instance, the Germans do not have problems. The Ukrainians are in a much better position, too. They have a large and strong Ukraine nearby. We know that the situation in Lithuania is difficult, but we have been compelled to ask our brothers and sisters for support. This is why we came here.

[Announcer] Thank you for the conversation. I hope that your trip to Lithuania will not be in vain.

Polish Leader Criticizes 'Repression'

LD2709230191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1512 GMT 26 Sep 91

[No video available]

[Text] We have a month to persuade the inhabitants of the Vilnius region to accept Lithuanian citizenship. That's a condition for taking part in elections and for regaining lands formerly taken away from the Poles, said Jan Sienkiewicz [chairman, Union of Poles in Lithuania] at the Polonia House.

[Sienkiewicz] What is happening now has every characteristic of repression and discrimination on national grounds.

[Correspondent] Could you support this with examples?

[Sienkiewicz] The newest and most expressive example is the dissolution of self-governments in the Vilnius and Salcininkai districts. The reasons given for this were the most preposterous allegations that these were communist-tainted Poles, that these were bolsheviks, while the degree of party membership among the Poles was several times lower than that among the Lithuanians themselves.

[Correspondent] What does the situation in schools look like, for instance?

[Sienkiewicz] At the moment—this is perhaps a lesser matter—national symbols have been removed: this could be a matter for discussion. But a vetting of teachers is being prepared, which could bring about great personnel changes for the Poles.

[Correspondent] How many Poles have already been dismissed from Lithuanian offices?

[Sienkiewicz] The number is exactly up to 30 [as heard].

[Correspondent] And what are you expecting at present, for the future?

[Sienkiewicz] We are expecting assistance in settling the situation of the Poles in Lithuania exactly according to the norms of international law.

[Correspondent] How do you see President Landsbergis' attitude toward the Poles?

[Sienkiewicz] It is not behavior in accordance with the promised democracy. It is not the democracy that had been promised. It is a desire to reduce the Polishness as it stands, or indeed to eliminate it, like in the pre-war Kaunas Lithuania.

'Vilnius Region Liberation Army' Claim Denied

PM3009143191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich under "Direct Line" rubric: "Vilnius Region Liberation Army: Myth or Provocation?"]

[Text] Vilnius—A sensational report in the Soviet mass media concerning an ultimatum from a certain Vilnius Region Liberation Army [armiya osvobozhdeniya Vilenshchiny] threatening to start military operations against Lithuania was refuted straightaway by two press services—at the republic parliament and government. A. Azubalis, Lithuanian Supreme Soviet press attache, said that Lithuania's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Security Department has no information about such an armed formation operating in eastern Lithuania. He stressed that these reports are being circulated by people who want to exacerbate relations between Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, and Russia.

However, journalists were later told that attempts are still being made to set up organizations that would virtually continue the activities of the Armia Krajowa [Home Army]. Thus, groups of people—presumably OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] personnel who have fled from the northern military township where a number of troop units were stationed after the August putsch—have been noticed in eastern Lithuania.

According to information that your correspondent received from reliable sources, the rumors that this resistance army has been set up are grossly exaggerated and are probably a propaganda tool used by political groupings in Lithuania and Poland that would like to supercharge to the limit the situation in the Vilnius territory. L. Jankielewicz, a Lithuanian Supreme Soviet deputy from the Polish faction, thinks that an unseemly political game is being played which is directed primarily against Poles in Lithuania. If this formation has indeed been set up, small as it may be, it must undoubtedly be viewed as a terrorist organization. Resolving the Polish problem by strong-arm methods will only aggravate an already tense situation.

Limitations on Free Entrance of USSR Citizens

OW2709184991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian government has put temporary limitations on the entrance of USSR citizens into the republic through the border post of Lazdiai on the Lithuanian-Polish border in connection with the roadworks. USSR citizens will be allowed to cross the border at Lazdiai only if they have diplomatic passports, official confirmations of the death of their relatives or if they travel in the Red Cross transport vehicles.

The new rules do not apply to citizens of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Federation Affairs

Silayev Resigns as Council of Ministers Chairman

Yeltsin Agrees With Decision

LD2709174991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Report by Valeriy Kiosa from the session of the Committee for Operational Management of the National Economy]

[Text] I have just learned that a few hours ago, Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin agreed to relieve Ivan Stepanovich Silayev of his duties as chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers in response to a request made in Silayev's appeal.

Explaining the motives for his request, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev stressed in his appeal that the economic situation on the territory of the former Union is acquiring the nature of an acute crisis. Attempts to get out of this crisis by returning to the unitary structures of the past are meaningless, hopeless and, moreover, dangerous. However, the transitional period in political, economic, and enterprise spheres, writes Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, should be conducted on the basis of the general agreement between the states that are finding their independence. The Interrepublican Economic Committee has been created precisely for this purpose.

Text of Resignation Letter Cited

PM3009104191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Silayev Announces Resignation"]

[Text] A "rebellion" against Ivan Silayev in the parliament and government of Russia is how many assess the situation today. I. Silayev's combination of two high posts which, in the present political situation, are really incompatible—chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers and leader of the country's Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy—benefits neither Russia nor the Union. As is well known, the Russian parliament has called its government's work unsatisfactory and afterward the Russian Council of Ministers resolved that the committee's decisions are valid on Russian territory only after approval by the Russian Council of Ministers.

In the past few days rumors have been circulating in society on I. Silayev's possible resignation from the post of Russian premier. IZVESTIYA has in its possession a letter dated 27 September from I. Silayev to B. Yeltsin which clarifies the situation.

The letter says: The economic situation on the former Union's territory is acquiring the character of a most acute crisis. Attempts to emerge from it by returning to the unitary structures of the past are senseless, futile, and dangerous, no matter what methods are used to do this: the bloody use of force, as the putschists wanted, or political and economic pressure via the remnants of the administrative-edict structures.

The acquisition of real state independence by the members of the former Union is an inevitable and natural process which must undoubtedly be pursued. It is common knowledge that in civilized, democratic societies, a state with its organs and structures and the symbols and attributes of power exists only as long as it is required and able to ensure the rights and interests of the citizen and society and their safe and independent development.

I think that the sovereign states which have chosen the path of independence are fully aware of their destiny and are capable by themselves and jointly of resolving all the main questions of their vital activity in their citizens' interests without dividing them on national, political, or religious grounds and guaranteeing the protection of their rights and freedoms in accordance with the principles proclaimed by the international community.

Nevertheless, the transitional period in the political, economic, and management spheres must be based on the common consent of the states acquiring genuine independence. That is precisely why the Interrepublic Economic Committee has been created as an interim instrument for the civilized replacement of the previous ties rigidly managed from the center by the natural and humane relations of free and sovereign states.

Further on, I. Silayev reminded the president that he firmly intended to remain as premier of Russia. However, the assignment from B. Yeltsin and the USSR State Council obliges him to concentrate his efforts, experience, and expertise on fulfilling the functions of chairman of the Interrepublic Economic Committee for this transitional period. In I. Silayev's assessment, the next five-six months will show whether it will be possible by means of this mechanism to move back from the crisis point or at least to halt the further slide toward the chaotic disintegration of economic and management ties.

On the basis of what I have said, the letter continues, I am resigning from the post of Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and am going to concentrate fully on work at the Interrepublic Economic Committee so as to work with the sovereign republics during practical actions to create the necessary conditions for their independent development in that community which will be acceptable to them.

Having borne the full brunt of the struggle for Russia's interests against the conservative central structures, I. Silayev intends to do everything possible to ensure that the work of the Interrepublic Economic Committee headed by him is useful and necessary to the republics in implementing their economic reforms. Addressing the Russian president, he gave an assurance that he highly appreciates the decisive role played in that struggle by the determination and clarity of his position as head of Russia, with whom I. Silayev was called on to work during those days and months which were critical not only for Russia.

"I thank you for the trust in the Russian Government and for the support of my step," it says at the end of the letter. "I thank my colleagues from the RSFSR Government who in difficult conditions gave reality to the sovereignty of Russia. We managed to do a lot together in this noble cause."

I. Silayev believes that this decision will be correctly understood by Russians and that he will be able in the future, too, to count on their trust and support.

Comments on Yeltsin Meeting

LD2809101291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0652 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Report on interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, by correspondent Valeriy Kiosa in Moscow on 27 September—recorded]

[Text] Here is the promised interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev. Late yesterday evening, he returned to Moscow after having met Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. At the airport Ivan Stepanovich Silayev was met by our correspondent Valeriy Kiosa, and now we can offer you a recording of their conversation.

[Kiosa] You have just returned from your meeting with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, where he agreed to your appeal to resign as leader of the Russian Government. How did he react to this request, and on the whole, how did this meeting pass?

[Silayev] I have to say that after all, we had two tasks on the program for this trip. One was freeing Boris Nikolayevich from preparing a draft economic agreement. To date we have already examined in detail this draft economic agreement, which has reached a high level of completion. We determined and coordinated positions on the most important questions, on the most important points. This is very important. The second question is my transfer to my new appointment.

Boris Nikolayevich and I had a very good conversation. He sincerely confirmed his profound respect for our joint work. We gave one another our assessment of what we have lived through together, of what we have been fighting for and what we have achieved. In the conversation he himself mentioned that he is very glad that—despite attempts both externally and internally to drive a wedge between our cooperation—we worked together in very difficult times, with profound understanding and support. He intends to say this when he addresses the Supreme Soviet—where my departure needs to be officially announced. For this reason we are both profoundly satisfied with what we have gone through, and came to an agreement to cooperate in the future. He told me that he would support, and if necessary also defend, both my dignity and honor—if one can put it like that—and most importantly, the common cause which we have fought together for: to work jointly, to cooperate jointly in future—he in his post as president of the major sovereign republic, and I in my post as chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee.

[Kiosa] That is very good to hear, especially taking into account the events of the past few days. Was the question of the decrees by Russia's president raised? Precisely this question aroused an incredible stormy reaction, including even some very harsh accusations addressed against you.

[Silayev] I would even say insulting accusations. I have grounds for saying something new on that subject, and I will certainly say it. I had to clarify one detail with Boris Nikolayevich, and in the next few days I will make a statement on the subject of the—I would say—provocative sally by a group of quite highly placed people. I think the public will eventually sort it out. But the main thing for me is that Boris Nikolayevich and I confirmed in practice our trust in one another, our respect for one another, and our intention to cooperate together.

[Kiosa] In order to effectively carry out the tasks that the Interrepublican Economic Committee has been set, it must, on the one hand, possess the appropriate possibilities and, on the other, have a completely new relationship with the republican governments. In this connection, what steps, in your opinion, have to be taken first of all in the nearest future, bearing in mind what is happening in the country?

[Silayev] I have expended so much energy, nervous and physical, on the struggle with the center, in one way or another, that I will no longer permit, when exercising my new functions, the tremendous confrontation that has been systematically imposed on us by all the republics, including Russia. I will, however, on the contrary, create all the necessary conditions so that there is a need for the committee to be a center for supporting and defending the interests of the republics. I will achieve that, naturally. But the main task now is the early formation of the structure and functions. We have been given a month. I think that in a week's time we will report our ideas both to the president and to the leaders of the republics, so that we can already talk to and recruit suitable personnel. My intentions are, primarily, to recruit professionals, of course—naturally, those who, in deeds rather than words, are devoted to democratic reforms, and, especially, to radical reform in the economy.

Fourth Supreme Soviet Session Continues 30 Sep

Income Indexation Plan Explained

LD2709124391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Parliamentary correspondent Yelena Kuznetsova report]

[Text] A joint session of the chambers is being held today. Four questions are on the agenda. I will list them. There is the election of representatives of the soviet of the republics and the agreement on candidates from the soviet of the Union for the USSR Supreme Soviet from our republic. The second question is on the draft law on the election of the head of local administrations. Then, the deputies will discuss the question of the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet's Committee for the Affairs of Invalids and War and Labor Veterans, and the Social Protection of Servicemen and Members of Their Families. Finally, there is a question which the deputies will, it seems to me, examine with particular interest. This is the Russian draft law on the indexation of citizens' monetary income and savings.

I will just say something about the mechanism of the effect of indexation. I will remind you that the minimum wage in Russia will go up, on 1 October, to 180 rubles and the indexation of our incomes will be carried out in relation to that figure. Several levels of indexation are envisaged. Let's say, if our income lies within the bounds of two minimums—360 rubles—it will be fully indexed. For example, if prices go up by 10 percent we shall receive an identical percentage increase. If income is between 360 and 720 rubles then 360 will be indexed in full, but the remainder only by half. Income in excess of four minimum levels will not be indexed.

Administration Chiefs Decree

PM2709131391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Sep 91 p 1

[Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree

"On elections of local administration heads on the territory of rayons, cities, settlements, and rural soviets"

In accordance with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On the Procedure for Enacting the RSFSR Law 'On RSFSR Local Self-Management,'" the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves that:

Rayon, city, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies are to hold elections of local administration heads on 24 November 1991.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Moscow, House of the RSFSR Soviets.
September 6, 1991.
No. 1640-1.

Representation Proposals Discussed

LD2709181991 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, September 27 TASS—The Russian parliament today spent the day debating on how to form Russian deputies groups in the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Council of the Union and the Council of Republics.

Soviet people's deputies elected in Russia took part in the deliberations.

The new Soviet parliament is to be formed of representatives of the republic parliaments and Soviet people's deputies. The Russian parliament, accordingly, was to elect 52 from their midst to the Council of Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to coordinate the composition of the Russian delegation, numbering 146 people, to the Council of the Union.

Instead of devoting at most two hours to this item on the agenda, the parliament spent the whole day to debate the point.

The debate was heated about the principle of nomination and the candidates already nominated. The ballot revealed that most deputies were against deleting from the list of nominees those who had been elected by the Soviet Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

It was noted that the nominee's personality should be of decisive importance. Another motion that was turned down concerned the inadmissibility of combining posts in the executive with the membership in the Soviet parliament.

However, the debate reached its apex when the active lists of the deputies groups came under discussion.

According to Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian parliament, the main principle of selection should include, in addition to the nominee's personal gifts, also "the deputy's democratic orientation."

"We shall not form the opposition in the USSR Supreme Soviet with our own hands," he said.

"To form the Union level legislature that will oppose the Russian parliament is suicidal," Russian People's Deputy Sergey Shakhray said.

Along with this, the Russian People's Deputy Sergey Baburin, representing the centrist group Russia, said "a new administration-by-command is being formed, only of a different colour, which wants to impose one-way thinking on the parliament."

The result of the vote showed that such remarkable people as Oleg Kalugin, the retired KGB general, and Aleksandr Obolenskiy, who had nominated himself for Soviet presidency, had been turned down by the Russian parliament deputies.

The Russian secretary of state, Gennadiy Burbulis, one of the key figures in the present Russian administration, was also voted down.

As a result of the roll-call vote, 41 deputes out of the total 52 nominees were elected to the Council of Republics, while 11 other did not score the required number of votes.

Khasbulatov on Choosing Delegates

LD2809194291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Video report by television correspondent S. Suntsov on 27 September session of Russian parliament held at Parliament building in Moscow, including recorded remarks by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet, on 27 September; place not given; introduced by program presenter Berezin; from the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] On today's agenda for the Russian parliament was the election of representatives to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Republics.

[Suntsov] Some 52 people are to be delegated to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Republics. One of the proposals not to include on the list deputies elected from public organizations—in particular the CPSU and the Komsomol—did not go through. Incidentally, the parliament rejected the candidature of Obolenskiy, Kalugin, and Burbulis by only 11 votes. But that is not a sign of no-confidence. The deputies consider that these people already have enough responsibilities. The careful selection of candidates has been prompted by the wish to avoid the possibility of opposition to reforms in Russia at the level of the Union parliament.

[Khasbulatov] There would really be no point in us forming a new opposition anywhere. So, if that new opposition were to slow down our reform actions over the course of 18 months, then we should speak about this frankly. So, to order various reactionaries, thereby confusing public opinion so to speak by signs of some false democracy, is not what we plan to do.

[Suntsov] Regarding the draft law on the indexation of wages which has been prepared for its second reading, Ruslan Khasbulatov said:

[Khasbulatov] I think that our deputies will not take into account calls coming from government circles not to adopt this law because it calls for a lot of funds. Yes, it calls for a lot of funds. We appreciate this, but the fact of the matter is that we as a state reduced our people to poverty, and we need to provide for them in some way. So let some other expenses be reduced—defense for example. We have already spoken about this, and if you recall, speaking at the USSR Supreme Soviet, I called upon the deputies to reduce the military budget this year by 50 billion rubles. Whether this is implemented or not, we will aim to protect our deprived fellow citizens.

Property Resolution Adopted

OW2709195791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament of the Russian Federation made a decree on Friday on properties held by all-Union and interrepublican social organizations and foundations on the territory of the Russian Republic. If other republics in a unilateral manner agree not to incorporate the property of all-Union and interrepublic social organizations and foundaitons, situated on their territories, then the government of the Russian Federation will do the same with regard to the property of such organizations located in the Russian Republic.

This decree does not apply to the property held by active political parties. With this decree the session finished work.

Deputy Views New Citizenship Law

LD3009035391 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Interview with Yu. V. Zaytsev, chairman of the Commission of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet for Citizenship Issues, by reporter Tikhomirov at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet building in Moscow; date not given; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] The draft of the new law on citizenship, submitted this week for examination by the session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet, states: No one can be deprived of Russian citizenship or the right to change his citizenship.

[Zaytsev] We are well aware what deprivation of citizenship is from the examples of Mstislav Rostropovich, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, and other cultural figures; 175 people were at one time deprived of Soviet citizenship. This will never happen again.

[Tikhomirov] A simplified procedure is also envisaged for our compatriots abroad to obtain Russian citizenship, as well as the possibility of dual citizenship on the basis of treaties with other states.

[Zaytsev] This means that our compatriots abroad can come here and not simply be foreigners here, but rather proper citizens of the RSFSR. At the same time, they will not have to break with the country from which they have come, and they will not have to renounce citizenship in another country, France for example. They will be able to bring their ability to work, their experience of work in a market economy, and no doubt their capital as well.

[Tikhomirov] What protection will the Russian people who live on the territory of other republics, which we now call independent states, get from this law?

[Zaytsev] As a rule, we envisage the possibility of dual citizenship in treaties with these independent states, the former Soviet republics. In particular, the treaty which we are going to sign with Armenia in the very near future envisages just such a possibility. [video shows interview with Zaytsev, scenes of surrounding streets and buildings]

Khasbulatov Discusses Problems in Supreme Soviet

LD2909093391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1620 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Interview with Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, acting Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet chairman, by Sergey Nosovets, identified by caption as "RSFSR Supreme Soviet member"; place and date not given; from the "Russian Parliamentary Herald" program—recorded]

[Text] [Nosovets] In our "Parliamentary Heralds," we have told you on numerous occasions about difficulties encountered by the Russian parliament while it works. I think you will understand that this is not just whimsy on our part; unfortunately, it is objective reality. As far as I can see, one of the serious problems that the Russian Supreme Soviet has now come up against is a situation in which our opponents—or, to use a harsher term, those hostile to our policies—have suffered what I would call a crushing defeat in open struggle with us and are using an old and tested ploy to destabilize the situation somehow in the republic and its regions: They are playing the ethnic card. For example, your two trips to the north Caucasus: To what extent is this old ploy a dangerous and serious obstacle to our work, Ruslan Imranovich?

[Khasbulatov] You are right to note this trend. The fact is that many oblast committee and republican committee secretaries, and so on, have failed to find a place for themselves and have rushed into the democratic—or, so-called democratic—movement. Of course, they have quite considerable organizational experience, knowledge, and information from various sources, including classified sources and KGB sources. They have become very active in these initially patriotic and, in a number of cases, overtly nationalist movements. Of course, this is clearly a fairly serious danger. Take the example of Chechen-Ingushetia. There was, in effect, a corrupt leader there, and he had to be, well... [changes thought] Just as I was leaving, the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet was holding its final session prior to dissolution. The Supreme Soviet dissolved itself, having, naturally, above all, removed the former Supreme Soviet chairman from office.

[Nosovets] And the first secretary of the (?republican) executive committee.

[Khasbulatov] And the first secretary of the (?republican) executive committee. A temporary committee of deputies was formed with the sole task of ensuring that elections to the republican Supreme Soviet proceed normally. Instead of that, under the influence of these reactionary forces—former party officials—people are using the sovereignty banner to attempt to push through immediate presidential elections directly. They deceive the population, alleging that this was approved by Moscow, Khasbulatov, and so on. All these falsehoods and illegal actions serve to destabilize the situation in the republic and other regions and to make it so people can say: The new, self-declared democratic authorities are useless and are just causing chaos and worry for the people. This is undoubtedly so, and the tendency can be discerned everywhere. Another dangerous tendency is that former party officials have dashed very rapidly and widely into the local soviet structures.

[Nosovets] The executive committees?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, the local soviet structures, the local soviet structures of executive authority at all levels. Of course, they have not moved in to revive their regions, towns, villages, and republics, but to pursue more effectively what they could not manage through confrontation in an open struggle.

In Dagestan, we had a somewhat different background. It is the old disease. When the Akkin Chechens, who lived in Dagestan from time immemorial, returned there, they did not have their villages returned to them or reinstated right away. Aukhovskiy Rayon was not handed to them. It was renamed, and other people were forcibly brought into the village—Lak, Avars, and so on. When we had a hardline totalitarian system people could not utter a squeak, of course, and were not able to demand the return of their traditional homes. In the context of an incipient democratic revolution, I continue to maintain that we still have a long way to go before we reach full democracy. We are only approaching substantial democratic reforms. Of course, they demand the village be returned. It must be said that, as opposed to Chechen-Ingushetia, the Dagestan leadership has demonstrated flexibility and understanding and continues to do so. However, it is impossible to sort everything out rapidly and immediately. They have a good plan. The government has drawn up a good plan based on our law on rehabilitating repressed peoples. However, people are impatient. One can understand them. They want an immediate handover. As a result of a concatenation of these contradictions, a rather dangerous situation has arisen. On one side, there is a population of more than 40,000 holding one rally. Opposing them is a slightly smaller number of people attending another rally. Weapons have appeared. Extremists have also begun to appear, including extremists from Chechen-Ingushetia. They say they will come and help and wrest an area of territory for them, and the two friendly peoples have found themselves on the verge of an armed conflict. Of course, under these circumstances, I had to fly out at short notice for a day's visit. We set up a kind of conciliation commission composed of the most authoritative people from both sides and held negotiations for 11 hours.

Thus, it was not even able to begin to implement its program as far as putting in order these regional matters connected with the Akkins. You know, people began to disperse. We flew by aircraft. It was 0300. We had already been informed that women and children, in the first instance, had arrived by cars. Old, respected people gave me their word that they would control things and that they would disperse peacefully, and they thanked us for coming and preventing bloodshed.

It seems to me that yet another hotbed of tension was localized, and there one can already boldly—probably in a day or two—lift the local state of emergency.

[Nosovets] What do you think? The session has begun, and the congress will work for several months. On what should the parliament concentrate its efforts?

[Khasbulatov] If we speak of the two days—of the results of the sitting which ended today—I summed up the results in brief at the Presidium. Of course, the results were meaningful. We adopted important documents. You may remember that there were very serious discussions of the reports delivered by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Ivanovich Lobov and by the finance minister. These are very major questions, and the deputies tried to be thorough in getting to the bottom of the government's activity in trying to overcome the crisis and the state of finances and the budget. However, the government's activity was judged, in principle, to be unsatisfactory. You heard this, and you know about it. To put it bluntly, it is difficult to say that this assessment was not objective.

On the other hand, I noted there that it was not very easy for the government when it was, on the one hand, being smothered by the central departments, which made it impossible to implement anything, and, on the other hand, while our well-known provincial vendeeism [local resistance to central control] existed. Government laws and instructions are being blatantly ignored. Therefore, it is not surprising that it was not easy for the government and that such an unfavorable assessment was given, while I personally respect the head of government. Many government members have shown themselves to be fully competent people. The deputies also said that, in general.

The finance minister's budget report was discussed in a similar, very critical way. Of course, the deputies are alarmed at the rapid increase in inflationary processes and the impoverishment of people. Of course, we are all concerned about preventing the Russian economy from slipping further into crisis.

However, there is another cause for alarm. The deputies were clearly striving to ensure that parliament's importance did not decline in light of new conditions, with a president and presidential structures in operation. It seems to me that these fears were more... [changes thought] Not in line with reality. Therefore, perhaps the speeches of the deputies on this matter were harsher than was necessary and those decisions which were adopted in this area were—it seems to me—too harsh. The president was elected by the entire people; he was the leader of the democratic transformations (?in the party), and, of course, in asserting its rights, the Supreme Soviet should not go as far as to try to adopt the pose of an injured party and to be rather rude to the president.

However, on the whole this session has shown, it seems to me, that our Supreme Soviet is operational and that it will play an important role. However, we should not become arrogant. That is why I said, addressing some other deputies, that one must fulfill exactly the functions given to us by law. There are two functions: legislative and monitoring. However, we sometimes try to interfere in personnel questions, such as with Komissarov. Actually, it is not our problem; it is not a question for the Supreme Soviet.

[Nosovets] These are not questions of personnel, I point out, but questions of observing the law, in particular.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, following the law. However, we should not have talked about personnel. We should have pointed out: It was so, and so, and so; therefore, we recommend to do such and such thing. However, we should not appoint, whereas we basically made the appointment on our own and, by the way, without representations being made by the executive bodies. I think that, here, we somewhat exceeded our power functions. However, I think this can be corrected; it is not too serious. It is important to remain reasonable, cool headed, and to be well prepared. You saw during the two days that many deputies say what is already written down, demand the introduction of some bill in the near future, but it has already been approved, included in this list. This haste, this desire to make a long speech into the microphone at any cost, we must get away from it. It is time to get away from it because if a deputy is speaking, he must have concrete proposals, he must say precisely what he wants to say, instead of telling his grandmother's story. It is interesting; undoubtedly, these stories are interesting. Probably every grandmother has had a worthy life, but during the parliamentary meeting one must be precise, concrete, and speak about the most concrete things. However, again I think that our affairs will not go badly, I am sure of that. However, you can see right away that we must prepare for the Congress. There is the rotation system. By the way, there should be no mistaking: There should be one principle, namely the deputies of democratic orientation, of course. We must stop playing up to the reactionaries. The reactionaries must set themselves on the path of creative cooperation with us and come to the position of democracy. However, I do not think we should play up to the reactionaries.

[Nosovets] Thank you, very much, Ruslan Imranovich. I think that for both the deputies and the voters the parliamentary leader's optimism will mean a lot. The Parliament itself continues its work.

Yeltsin Offers Federov Prime Minister Post

LD2809072991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] The famous eye surgeon, Professor Svyatoslav Fedorov, may take up the post of Russia's prime minister shortly. In any case, he says, he has received such an offer by telephone from the republic's president, Boris Yeltsin. It is common knowledge that the current premier of Russia, Ivan Silayev, has been appointed the head of the Union government. Professor Fedorov has said in an interview he will accept his appointment if he is given a chance to carry out his own program. He intends to start with privatization of state property, which will be sold to the population at symbolic prices. The next stage would be liberalization of prices excluding the essential goods for some time possibly. Besides that, Professor Fedorov intends to open the doors for foreign capital.

Zyuganov Urges Reinstatement of Communist Party

OW2809021591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 27 Sep 91

["Talk" by Gennadiy Zyuganov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Soviet Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Communist Party; place and date not given; from the "Nation and Society" feature; first paragraph is INTERFAX introduction; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's presidential decree suspending the activities of the Communist Party has been taken by a majority of citizens as just and long overdue. There are dissenting opinions, though. Here's one—by the member of Politburo and secretary of the Russian Sovist Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party's Central Committee Gennadiy Zyuganov.

The activities of the Russian Federation's Communist Party—and then of the entire CPSU—have been "suspended" indefinitely. Such emergency decisions and subsequent actions have no sound legal basis. Moreover, some jurists find them a series of gross violations of the USSR and RSFSR Constitutions.

The idea is being assiduously planted in public consciousness of the Communist Party's "criminal character" and its involvement in the attempted coup. In fact, that's the only "legal ground" for the current clamp on the Communist Party and suppression of the opposition. The impression is of public attention being deliberately drawn to the confiscation of the Communist Party's property which makes a negligible percentage of national wealth. But it seems of little concern to the present authorities that giant production funds are being used with less and less effect, or that huge resources are frozen in unfinished construction projects, in idle equipment and blocked railways.

The party's employees are being actually outlawed—they are certainly denied protection under the existing labour legislation. They are deprived of their jobs and means of livelihood. This is discrimination on political motives. The dailies and periodicals, the journalists now "out of favour" feel more and more the intolerance and persecution on the part of those who only yesterday swore by the principles of political pluralism and openness.

The economic reform, the ethnic conflicts, the pauperization of the population call for a civil peace, for the consolidation of society, not for an atmosphere of fear and persecution, not a "witch hunt", not an escalating political confrontation. Extremism, let it be even officially blessed, can do the people no good, it can only pile up enmity.

I hope the presidents of the USSR and RSFSR will recall their decrees which serve to cover up mass violations of civil rights, much economic and property abuse. Normal conditions should be restored for the work of the Party's elected bodies, for a plenary session of the RSFSR communists' central committee and a congress at which they could decide their party's future and dispose of its property in the interests of the people.

Let's hope the international human rights organisations would note the facts of political discrimination in this country and send their observers to the USSR and the RSFSR for an objective legal and moral assessment of the situation.

KGB Chairman Ivanenko Favors Complete Reform

LD3009062291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The events that took place from 19 to 21 August resulted in a change in the state structures in the USSR, said Viktor Ivanenko, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] KGB, told a TASS correspondent. According to him, the KGB was not ready for these events and the staff (Russian: sotrudniki) were demoralized. Yet, the head of this department considers that the interests of the sovereignty of Russia will demand stringent protection measures. That is why it is necessary to carry out a complete reform of the system of the bodies of state security. Ivanenko thinks that it is necessary to give up total surveillance and political investigation. The main tasks of the department will be the struggle against organized crime, smuggling, corruption and the undertaking of counterespionage work.

Financial Advisor Backs Single Currency System

PM2709140991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Khodorkovskiy, financial adviser to the RSFSR Council of Ministers chairman, by correspondent Gennadiy Yastrebtsov; date and place not given; first two paragraphs are introduction: "Shall We Ax the Ruble? Or Let It Live? Conversation With Financier on Gloomy Fall Day"]

[Text] "Money is like water," lamented an elderly women leaving the food store counter with her string shopping bag. "It seems I have bought next to nothing, but that's a 10-ruble note gone.... I myself work, and my husband and son do not idle away their time either, but we still have not got enough to last from one payday to the next. And at the plant they recently stopped wages for five days on one occasion and a whole week another time. Where has all the money in the state gone?"

It was roughly this question that started the conversation between PRAVDA correspondent Gennadiy Yastrebtsov and Mikhail Khodorkovskiy, financial adviser to the chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers.

[Khodorkovskiy] "I will let you into an 'open secret,'" he grinned sarcastically. "Wages at plants and establishments are being stopped because it is not possible to print the notes. Yes, yes. The printing presses are working at full stretch but there is still not enough cash.

"It is an extraordinary situation. You and I are standing on the threshold of the total collapse of the Soviet monetary system. As it is, ruinous inflation is accelerating the introduction of ration cards, coupons, parallel money, and other ersatz means of circulation. The ruble's value is falling lower and lower. And the ominous specter of hyperinflation is already looming ahead, threatening the population with enormous losses through the devaluation of savings and incomes...."

[Yastrebtsov] And probably not only every individual person but also all social production will be hit?

[Khodorkovskiy] Of course. Hyperinflation will force producers to hold back the output being produced, because they realize that they could get more for it tomorrow than today. And if selling it is unprofitable, that means producing it to be sold for money is also unprofitable. This is the direct road to primitive exchange in kind, to barter deals. But it is really time to realize that in such a country as ours the making of all exchanges in kind and the demise of the monetary system mean the same as stopping production. These are not economics at all, they are kinds of fantastic and unpredictable processes.

I do not intend to scare anybody with famine and cold, but it is just impossible to look on indifferently while we proceed toward the destruction of the technological base of the country and every republic. Bread and homespun clothing can be produced without money, feudal society did without it completely. The question is whether our people want to slide into this abyss.

[Yastrebtsov] What steps are needed today toward rescuing the money circulation in our country, which is breaking up into sovereign states?

[Khodorkovskiy] Only three money circulation models can be realistically considered. The first: A single ruble in the whole economic space. The indispensable condition is a unified circulation system throughout the country's territory. That is, where money is going to be printed is not that important, and who is going to grant credit does not make any difference. But the quotas must be established in one place. There must also be a single system for circulating the ruble in freely convertible currencies or in other types of currency, and a uniform system of interest rates and refinancing banks.

The second model: Along with a single common currency, national currencies function separately in each republic. A federal reserve system regulates the common currency, while republics make their national currencies. Whether they are closed or open is a secondary question. The only condition is that they can be freely exchanged for the ruble.

In my view, this system has considerable drawbacks. First, the introduction of national currencies is essentially equivalent to an exchange of rubles, and time is needed for that—two years at least. Second, it will require considerable expenditure associated not so much with the exchange itself as with using a multicurrency system. I will explain. Our banks need to raise themselves to a higher stage in their development. Even in the United States a very small number of banks work with several currencies. All the rest work exclusively with the dollar. In our country, maybe only the Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] can handle that task, while the rest—alas....

Finally, the third model: The introduction of national currencies. The ruble disappears completely....

[Yastrebtsov] Excuse me, but how are settlements made?

[Khodorkovskiy] In dollars. We have such examples. Specifically, our mutual relations with CEMA countries. The single currency was, as you know, replaced. True, we derived no benefit from it. Just the rapid collapse and disintegration of established ties. And how we can get out of this pit, I think nobody really knows. Banks are now forced to work in a multicurrency system, but they, I repeat, are not ready for this. Every currency must immediately be made convertible, or else it is not a universal equivalent. Big problems! We are practically in a situation whereby economic ties are becoming degraded to the level of commodity exchange in kind, which we talked about earlier. But you yourself understand that such a system is able to solve only the simplest tasks. A loaf of bread can also be baked in the barter system, but as for producing wristwatches or televisions—it is a nonstarter.

[Yastrebtsov] What is the solution?

[Khodorkovskiy] Life itself suggests it. If we do not want to continue eking out a caveman existence, we have to take a firm position on the ruble. It is a union mechanism, a "plaything" made by the Union. If the Union is not going to continue in its previous form, only Russia can legally lay claim to the ruble, because the emission center is actually located on its territory. But the Union is still preferable. In one form or another.

If we are talking about individual republics, then, dear friends, it is not your "plaything." If you want to play your games—be my guest, produce your own currency, nobody is going to stop you. But if you are thinking of playing the same game as us, then follow the rules. I repeat again: The ruble belongs to the Union. And every person who, without recognizing the center and without recognizing the Union as a federative or confederative formation, puts the ruble into circulation in the form of bank notes or a credit emission becomes a money counterfeiter, as it were, and, furthermore, declares himself before the whole world to be a successor to all the Union's financial commitments. But when all is said and done you will agree that there cannot be 15 or more successors simultaneously. It is nonsense!

[Yastrebtsov] What are your forecasts for the short term?

[Khodorkovskiy] I see two options. Either we slide toward exchange in kind and a ration system and completely lose confidence in the national monetary unit. Or parliaments twist the arms of their central banks and set up an organ which is still a common one, a council maybe, which will save the ruble...

[Yastrebtsov] Our editorial office is getting calls from financial workers complaining about the Russian Central Bank's actions. They claim that, specifically, its leadership is exceeding its authority, that it is engaging in matters not specific to bankers. Is that so?

[Khodorkovskiy] You see, it is a tricky question. I personally believe that this bank is taking both too much and too little upon itself. I will explain. The situation in industry is not the bank's business. National problems are not the bank's business, neither are political problems. The bank's business is to mediate, establish, and maintain a universal equivalent. If, for instance, a 20-percent fall in industrial production occurs in a year, that means that money in circulation must correspondingly be restricted by 20 percent, or the monetary unit inflated.

The Russian bank assumes the functions not of a bank but of a kind of investment organ. What is it doing? By crediting a certain area—farmers, metallurgists, or someone else—it is making an investment decision itself: To give to some but not to others. But that is absurd! An investment decision has never meant giving. It has always had two poles: giving and taking. When the government makes a decision about investments it is operating selectively. Suppose that something is taken from the defense complex and given to farms. It is clear that there is a system of priorities. And when a bank makes such a decision it means taking from everybody and giving to farmers. But in doing so, you will note, it takes from farmers as well.

[Yastrebtsov] I don't quite understand....

[Khodorkovskiy] While giving farmers additional resources, the bank takes more from them than it gives. It is the same thing that we have been condemning for decades as the "shark of imperialism." For instance, while giving money to African or Latin American countries, they have effectively pumped out much more from there than they have given. The RSFSR Gosbank [State Bank] is now doing the same to our agricultural economy, and to all those to whom it appears to be doing a great favor.

[Yastrebtsov] How is this being done in practice?

[Khodorkovskiy] If you have a certain sum available, and you are given a certain additional sum, the latter reduces the purchasing power of the money you already have. And with certain amounts, newly obtained money does not in any way compensate for reduced purchasing power. What a "cunning" mechanism. I—forgive me for my harshness—would call all this economic hooliganism.

[Yastrebtsov] Are there methods of countering it?

[Khodorkovskiy] Republic banks are simply not needed to carry out circulation of the ruble. They are needed at the stage when national currencies are introduced and only in relation to these currencies.

[Yastrebtsov] You are talking about a normal financial system, but what do we have?

[Khodorkovskiy] I believe that there cannot be a normal or an abnormal financial system. Either it exists or it does not. Before perestroyka we did not have such a system at all. The ruble was a kind of coupon, a ration card, in essence simply a conventional unit....

[Yastrebtsov] And now?

[Khodorkovskiy] Now, unfortunately, we are on the road from a bad monetary system to no monetary system. You watch what the same Russian bank is doing. The interest rate for financing has gone from 1 to 15 percent. Minimum reserves have gone from 2 to 20 percent. How can a banking system function in such a wild situation? Only on bribes! Because it is just impossible to seriously inculcate in the business community criteria of the "it's good or it's bad" sort, of the "we like it or we don't" sort. We'll get far that way.

Here, incidentally, are the RSFSR Gosbank's performance results for this year. Current account residues increased all of 100 percent instead of 7.5 percent. The monetary emission in the last few months totaled 20 billion rubles [R].

With full responsibility I can state that both the stopping of people's wages and the shortage of paper money are largely a result of the RSFSR Central Bank's policies. Interbank account-balancing networks exist throughout the world. It is on their basis that cashless settlements occur. In our country we had just started to create these networks, but the Central Bank, having virtually stopped the activities of the Union Sberbank [Bank for Labor Savings and Credit to the Population], Agricultural Bank, and Industrial Construction Bank, has also broken up their account-balancing networks. There is only one such left, which can accomplish very few transactions a year. In Moscow, for example, settlement delays are a week or two weeks instead of a day, and money has taken half a year to get to other parts of the country...

[Yastrebtsov] That is, cashless settlements are coming to nothing?

[Khodorkovskiy] Almost. It is becoming necessary to proceed to cash settlements, but there is a catastrophic shortage of it.

[Yastrebtsov] Yes, the ruble must indeed be saved....

[Khodorkovskiy] The ruble will stand on its own if we revitalize the economy. But it looks like we are ready to repeat the "tradition" of past generations again now: We are creating considerable difficulties for ourselves so that we can heroically overcome them later.

Russian Business Congress Sends Appeal to Yeltsin

OW2709201291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An appeal by the Congress of Russian Business Circles as sent to the president of the Russian Republic, the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet and to the Soviet Ministry of the Russian Republic.

The appeal noted that in the past four months the government of Russia had literally not taken one single action which would further the sovereign government on its path towards a new economic system.

The Congress of Russian Business Circles finds the hesitancy of the Russian government inadmissable, and awaits a turn to more decisive legal and economic measures which would allow Russia to be included in world affairs in a natural way.

The Congress suggests the following:

1. Immediate cancellation of all normative acts which hamper stabilization of the economic situation and development of a market in Russia.

2. To look over and accept the entire package of laws which would provide for the development of different sectors of market infrastructure in Russia at the session of the Russian Republic's Supreme Soviet.

3. To guarantee the effectivity of the Russian government and all structures of governmental management as soon as possible.

4. To hold a joint meeting of the State Council of the Russian Republic, the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Russian Council of Ministers, leaders of political parties and movements, representatives from Russian business circles, unions an dother interested parties with the following goals:

a) the development of one operative plan of action for the stabilization of the economic situation in Russia for the peek crisis period, Winter/Spring 1992;

b) determining a common system of interaction and concrete responsibilities for those represented at the meeting.

c) determining on priority problem solving:

- Fuel and energy
- food provisions
- providing consumer goods
- water supply and other problems.

The Congress of Russian Business Circles also stated that during this most critical time they were prepared to offer the leadership of Russia any possible help and support in order to stabilize the economy and develop a market in Russia.

Local Affairs

Moscow Mayor Popov Opposes Ban on CPSU

PM2709130591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Gavriil Popov: No Obstacles to Activity of CPSU Primary Organizations"]

[Text] "I believe that in a democratic society we should not drive the CPSU underground," Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov stated at a meeting 18 September with representatives of the "Democratic Russia" Movement and defenders of the White House. In his words, "If the Moscow (CPSU) party organizations want to function, they can. There are no obstacles to the work of primary organizations." Nevertheless, he said, it is necessary to eliminate the CPSU's material base and use it to help create the material base of a multiparty system. It is necessary to give equal opportunities to all the mass media and to remove the former advantages that PRAVDA enjoyed over other publications, Gavriil Popov noted.

Moscow Council: Police Head Decision 'Illegal'

OW2709204491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A session of Moscow City Council on Friday said the decision by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Interior Minister, Andrey Dunayev, to name Arkadiy Murashov head of the Moscow City Directorate for Internal Affairs was illegal and should be abrogated.

The city council has urged the Supreme Soviet, the president and the Russian Council of Ministers to review the question of Mr. Dunayev's suitability to occupy the post of RSFSR Internal Minister.

The council's resolution stresses that the city's policemen should obey only the orders of a legally appointed head of police.

In the same document the mayor of Moscow, Mr. Gavriil Popov, is warned that any one of his numerous violations of the RSFSR Constitution and the resolutions of the Moscow City represents sufficient grounds for the expression of a lack of confidence in him.

Moscow-Owned Property, Enterprises Privatized

LD2609220891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1540 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] The session of the Moscow soviet today adopted a package of documents regulating the privatization of enterprises and property belonging to Moscow. Approval was given to the provisions concerning the property stock, the committee to administer it, and the property monitoring commission. The privatization procedure has also been approved.

Today the session adopted in principle a document that contains an appeal from the collective of the Moscow television programs studio to the presidents of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, to the Moscow soviet, and to the mayor to transform this studio into an independent television broadcasting enterprise.

Yeltsin Decree on St. Petersburg-Moscow Rail Link

PM2709133991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 1

["Decree by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) President on the Creation of a High-Speed St. Petersburg-Moscow Passenger Railroad"]

[Text] The existing St. Petersburg-Moscow railroad has exhausted its carrying potential and is not meeting the transportation needs of the national economy or the population.

In order to substantially improve transport links between the two major Russian cities on the basis of the exploitation of modern scientific and technical achievements, improved traffic safety, better passenger services, and fuel and power resources economy, I rule that:

1. The proposal by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, mayors of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and Leningrad Oblast Soviet on the construction of a high-speed St. Petersburg-Moscow rail link and the organization of the production of the electric rolling stock be adopted.

To that end it will be becessary to set up a Russian joint-stock company with the state having the controlling interest.

2. The RSFSR Council of Ministers:

will elaborate and approve in 1991 a Russian national program for the construction, commercial operation, and organization of the production of electric rolling stock, envisaging the exploitation of the conversion potential of defense industry enterprises;

will examine the question of tax benefits and other privileges in the sphere of the economic activities of the joint-stock company that is to be set up and submit the relevant proposals.

3. Organs of executive power, RSFSR ministries and departments, and officials are to support in every way the implementation of the Russian national program on the construction, commercial operation, and organization of the production of electric rolling stock and the joint-stock company that is to be set up.

RSFSR President B. Yeltsin
The Kremlin, Moscow, 13 September 1991. No. 120

St. Petersburg KGB Chief, Deputies Resign

LD2709225891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] We have just received a telegram from St. Petersburg. Anatoliy Kurkov, chairman of the USSR KGB directorate for the city and oblast, and his deputies handed in their resignations. Kurkov's resignation will be accepted in one month, but his deputies are going to leave their posts sooner.

Historic Cadet Party Registers in Moscow

OW2709230091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Justice has officially registered the Constitutional Democratic Party (The National Freedom Party). The party was founded in 1905 and until its prohibition by the Bolsheviks in November 1917 was the leading nonsocialist party in Russia.

The rebirth of the historic Cadet Party took place at the 11th Restoration Party Congress which met on 15th-16th June, 1001 in Moscow. It boasts more than 5,000 members and has regional organisations in Russia and the republics of Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moldova and Kazakhstan.

Mass Protests Continue in Chechen-Ingush

LD2809123391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Excerpt] A mass meeting outside the building of the Council of Ministers of the Chechen-Ingush Republic is continuing. Thousands of people had left that square just a week ago after achieving their goals—the resignation of the republic's Supreme Soviet—and reaching agreement on the establishment of new bodies of power.

We are now protesting against Russia's interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign republic, Zilimkhan Yandarbiyev, leader of the Vaynakh Democratic Party, told a TASS correspondent. Remnants of the old power structures, supported by representatives of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, are trying to hold on to their powers and to torpedo the legal election of a president in Checheno-Ingushetia. The executive committee of the Pan-National Congress of the Chechen People and all forces supporting it are prepared to fight to the end for the people's right to decide their destiny for themselves, he stressed. [passage omitted]

Khasbulatov Message Causes Unrest

LD2809214191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Traffic on the main roads in the capital of Checheno-Ingushetia has again been stopped. In front of the republic's Council of Ministers building rallies are again being held by supporters of the executive committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People. The reasons for the unrest is the telegram from acting Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov in which he calls for the implementation of the agreement achieved with the aid of a Russian delegation on the creation of a provisional supreme council for the republic and the transferral of legislative functions to it until new parliamentary elections.

State of Emergency Lifted in Kazbekovskiy Rayon

LD3009103691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The state of emergency was lifted today in Kazbekovskiy Rayon in Dagestan. This decision was made ahead of schedule by the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet because the situation in the region has stabilized and is close to normal. The three-week stand-off between the local inhabitants of Avar and Chechen nationalities, which was caused by mutual territorial claims, has thus ended. Large groups of mountain villagers had gathered in the center of and around the village of Leninaul, ready to die rather than yield an inch of land to the other side. The situation was deteriorating, and despite the extreme emergency measures taken by the republican government, remained volatile. There was also a risk of bloodshed at any moment. Observers note that the arrival in Dagestan of a Russian parliamentary delegation, headed by Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, greatly helped to resolve the crisis.

Karelian Supreme Soviet Leaders Face Recall

LD2809223191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Karelian Supreme Soviet opened today in Petrozavodsk. A group of deputies has proposed to recall from their posts Supreme Soviet Chairman Victor Stepanov and Ivan Aleksandrov, his deputy. In the opinion of the parliamentarians, these leaders were unable to provide operational decisions on the numerous problems that have appeared recently in political and economic life of the republic, and the Supreme Soviet chaired by them has found itself unable to act efficiently in the conditions of an escalating crisis.

Security Council Starts Functioning in Kuzbass

LD3009043791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] A security council has started functioning in the Kuzbass. Attached to the head of the territory's administration, it has been set up from among the heads of law enforcement and other bodies. As head of the Kemerovo oblast administration, Mikhail Kislyuk explained that this action is one of the components of the main principle of executive rule: to have close ties with the industrial region's population through all possible sociodemocratic formations. The Kuzbass security council, which has no strong powers, analyzes operational information about processes taking place here and draws up measures to eliminate the aftermath of the coup d'etat attempt.

German Minority Studies Autonomy Structures

LD2909053891 Hamburg DPA in German 1427 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Eupen (DPA)—The German minority in the Soviet Union intends to adopt the autonomy model of the German-speaking citizens of Belgium. A Soviet delegation headed by Leo Prokopyev, chairman of the committee for national minorities in the Russian Republic, visited the small town of Eupen on the German-Belgian border on Saturday. The delegation intended to familiarize itself with the administrative structures that guarantee a certain independence to the about 67,000 German speakers in Belgium.

"We intend to rebuild the Republic of Volga Germans on the banks of the Volga between the cities of Volgograd and Saratov," Prokopyev said. [passage omitted]

N. Ossetia Asks for Help With Refugee Problem

LD2909174691 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 29 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 29 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the North Ossetian Republic turned to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the USSR State Council for help in dealing with the problem of refugees from South Ossetia, Akhsarbek Galazov, president of the North Ossetian Supreme Council, told TASS.

He said that North Ossetian leaders are doing their utmost. Top priority measures to aid refugees from Georgia have been worked out and are being implemented. But North Ossetia cannot cope with this problem on its own. An urgent aid of the Russian Government is needed, he said.

According to unofficial information, there are over 80,000 refugees in North Ossetia at present.

The stream of refugees from South Ossetia continues. Last night, militants were shelling Tskhinvali and also fired on it from large-bore machineguns and grenade launchers. The fire was conducted from the outskirts of Georgian villages Zemo-Nikozi, Tamarasheni, Prisi, Ergneti.

According to the press centre of the information committee of the South Ossetian Autonomous Region, more than 100 houses, buildings of amenities, kindergartens and schools were damaged by shelling over the past three days. Some 20 residents were heavily wounded. There are women and children among the wounded.

The Ossetian side returned the fire.

By a decree of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the state of emergency in Tskhinvali and on the territory of the Dzhava District was extended for another month from today. But this measure does not have a stabilising effect on the sociopolitical situation in South Ossetia.

All roads and transport junctions on the way to the administrative centre are controlled by Georgian militants. They prevent the delivery of humanitarian cargoes from Vladikavkaz. Columns of large trucks can travel along the Dzhava-Tskhinvali road only in daytime under the protection of military equipment.

There is a shortage of food, medicines and fuel in Tskhinvali. Residents fear that at any moment the city which is under the economic blockade can be left without electricity, gas, water.

Sakhalin Offshore Oil Tender May Be Contested

OW3009013391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2155 GMT 29 Sep 91

[From "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian president' s representative in the Far Eastern island of Sakhalin said the local authorities might contest the results of a recent tender by Western companies for offshore oil and gas drilling if "they fail to meet local interests." Mr. Vitaliy Guliy made the statement following a two-day visit to the island by Shell officials.

Shell is among other foreign companies contesting an oil tender there.

The local authorities blame the interdepartmental commission of Russian and Moscow representatives for their choice of three Ms—America's MacDermott and Marathon, and Japan's Mitsui. However, an official of the Soviet oil and gas industry has denied this saying the finl decision on the tender will taken in early October. He told INTERFAX there could be several winners of the Sakhalin tender. The projected oil production there is put at 5 to 7 million tonnes annually, and gas, up to 20 billion cubic metres.

Siberian Companies To Set Up Regional Grouping

OW3009023991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2155 GMT 30 Sep 91

[From "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moscow-based ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA reports that large oil and gas producing, refining and transporting companies in Tyumen, Western Siberia, are planning to set up a regional concern called " Zapsibneftegaz."

The new giant's initial output is projected at 3.5 million tonnes annually, or about 1 precent of what is now produced in Tyumen District. However, the figure is expected to rise to 30 million tonnes in the next five or six years.

Zapsibneftegaz which is also expected to go into prospecting new gas and oilfields plans to issue shares to be sold at international stock markets.

Commission Ends Fact-Finding Mission to Tomsk

LD3009062691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] A Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Government commission studying the social, economic, and political situation in Tomsk has finished its work. It examined progress in implementing economic reforms, including land reform, as well as the state of affairs in conversion and the division of property between Russia and the oblast and between the oblast and the city. It is too early today to draw final conclusions. However, according to one commission member, the economic situation in the oblast made a positive impression: (Leonid Bochin), deputy chairman of the antimonopoly committee of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, made this remark in a conversation with local journalists. Nonetheless, he said, we need consolidation of forces in society and concerted work.

Former Tyumen Leaders Staff Commodity Exchanges

PM2709112191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent F. Sizyy: "Everyone Has Gone Off to the Exchange"]

[Text] Tyumen—Former CPSU leaders in Tyumen have made an urgent dash for the exchanges.

The commodity and stock and the commodity and oil exchanges are by no means the only ones on the list of exchanges to be accorded the honor of being restaffed with tried and tested party cadres.

V. Sidorchev, recently first secretary of the CPSU city committee, has become general director of the oil exchange in Nizhnevartovsk, the largest oil-producing city. Departmental chiefs of the CPSU oblast committee and sector chiefs have joined the guiding and directing nucleus of the Tyumen commodity and stock exchange. This is headed by S. Denisov—also a former first secretary of one of the city party committees.

So, it really is quite amusing when, on mention of former party functionaries, people never fail to talk about labor exchanges....

Vladivostok Commodity Exchange Reopens

LD2809070491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2200 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] The Vladivostok Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange has opened again after a 70-year interruption. Several of the major enterprises of the Maritime Kray founded the stock exchange. The value of the goods presented for dealing amounted to about 700 million rubles or $10 million. Most of the goods were food, children's clothes, and medicine. Commissions collected for the exchange do not apply to them. This type of bonus has been introduced in order to attract goods from other parts of the country to this large port city.

Media

'Pamyat' Radio Station To Begin Broadcasts

LD3009104991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1647 GMT 28 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] At 0200 hours on 29 September—that is, this coming night—the radio station of the "Pamyat" Russian National-Patriotic Front will go on the air for the first time. The POSTFAKTUM agency has been told this by the movement's leader, Dmitriy Vasilyev. The program "Otechestvo, Pamyat, i Ty" [Fatherland, Memory, and You] has been registered at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of the Press and Media. Among its proclaimed program aims are the patriotic education of the population in the light of heroic examples of our historic past and our present, and the raising of youths in the traditions of lofty moral example and holy patriotic experience.

Dmitriy Vasilyev did not disclose the location of the transmitter.

External Affairs

Russia Not To React to Independence Declarations

LD2809024591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] There has not been any official reaction to the events in Georgia and Tajikistan from Russia, and none is likely to come in the near future, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has told a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent. According to him, Russia also has no intention of making official statements recognizing the independence of former Union republics in the near future. There would not be any practical sense in doing so because Russia respects the sovereignty of these republics and regards them as sovereign states without any official statements, Andrey Kozyrev noted.

International Affairs

Yeltsin, Rutskoy Talk With Egyptian President

LD2709205491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] A telephone conversation took place today between the presidents of Russia and Egypt. Husni

Mubarak invited Boris Yeltsin to pay an official visit to Egypt. The president of Russia agreed to this invitation.

Besides this, Mubarak had a conversation with Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, as a result of which an agreement was reached on Egypt assisting in the search and return to the motherland of Soviet servicemen taken as prisoners of war in Afghanistan. Certain questions of economic cooperation between the states were also touched upon.

Kunadze Ends Kurils Tour, Discusses Relations

Speaks at News Conference

LD2909043791 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Belovitskiy]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk September 28 TASS—Russian Federation Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze has completed his tour of the southern Kuril islands, to which Japan has territorial claims. Along with USSR People's Deputy Oleg Kalugin and member of the Russian Federation parliament Sergey Sirotkin he met with the inhabitants of Iturup, Shikotan and Kunashir to set out the Russian Government's views on the problem.

Speaking at a news conference at the Sakhalin Regional Council Kunadze said, in particular, that "the primary goal of the visit was to tell the Kuril residents the truth about the 'Northern Territories' problem".

Chairman of the regional executive Professor Valentin Fedorov told the same news conference that the Russian diplomat's visit was "an ideological preparation for the surrender of some of the islands to Japan".

He said "the hidden motive of the forthcoming talks was an economic deal, the obtaining of large-scale economic aid from Japan".

As regards the Kuril islands, the population and the leadership of the region hold a similar view: "You won't be able to solve this problem without us," Fedorov added addressing the diplomat.

The newspaper "SVOBODNY SAKHALIN" (FREE SAKHALIN) published what it called the final document on a visit to Japan by acting Speaker of the Russian Federation parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov.

According to the newspaper, conversations showed that the Japanese have great interest in direct relations with Russia, understand that it will become Japan's main partner, and are aware of the need for urgent financial and economic support for the Russian administration.

This was largely aided by the Russian leadership's new policy on the territorial issue, set out in Boris Yeltsin's message to Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. The delegation's statement on the general unpreparedness of Russian public opinion for any decisions associated with the close prospect of the transfer of any territories to Japan was received with understanding.

An analysis of the visit's results, as well as the state of relations with Japan prompts the following conclusions: "Obtaining urgent large-scale assistance from Japan is impossible without marked progress on the territorial issue with the prospect of complete recognition and signing of the peace treaty", "the Russian Federation president's message to the Japanese premier, as well as the current visit by the Russian parliament delegation have brought us close to the first practical steps in this area", "a delay in such steps or their failure to meet the expectations of the Japanese will hinder or make the obtaining of urgent aid totally impossible...", "in the context of territorial delimitation with Japan the main problem for us is undoubtedly the inadequate, and possibly negative, reaction from the public that has been exposed to orthodox propaganda for a long time".

If the document, published by the newspaper, is authentic, authorities of the region say that "one should expect organised resistance to the prospective transfer of four Kuril Islands to Japan" in the near future.

No Secret Talks To Be Held

LD2909044691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—"The purpose of my recent visit to the South Kuril Islands, on which Japan has territorial claims, was to tell their inhabitants the truth about this problem," a TASS correspondent was told by Georgiy Kunadze, deputy Russian foreign minister. For the last 30 years, he said, it had been considered in the USSR that Japan's territorial demands were an expression of revanchist feelings. However, "in fact, that is not at all the case."

According to him, the Russian Government intends to take into full account all existing opinions on this subject. It understands that the solution of the problem will entail complications for many people, but it is also conscious of the criteria of legality, justice, and observance of the norms of international law. The deputy minister emphasized that the Russian Government intends to solve the problem of the South Kurils with the participation of the people. He did not exclude the possibility of meeting the demands of the Kuril islanders for the participation of their representatives in talks with Japan. "The Russian Government will not conduct secret diplomacy," Georgiy Kunadze said.

He also pointed out that receiving urgent aid from Japan is impossible without substantial progress on the territorial question. "But we do not link this with what Russia should do to solve the territorial issue, and with what she should receive in exchange in the form of aid from Japan," the deputy minister emphasized.

Sakhalin Leader Against Return of Kurils

LD3009101991 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk September 30 TASS—"The executive committee of the Sakhalin Regional Council has been declared 'Headquarters of Struggle for the Kuril Islands', it was stated by Committee Chairman Valentin Fyodorov, who addressed the local population on Sakhalin radio today.

He said the visit paid by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Deputy Foreign Minister Georgy Kunadze to the lesser Kuril chain was undertaken to prepare the population for the transfer of these islands to Japan.

Fyodorov explained changes in the stand of some representatives of the Russian leadership on the "territorial issue," which occurred after the recent abortive coup d'etat, by economic motives. "They want to improve the domestic situation by getting outside money," Fyodorov said.

He urged the personnels of local enterprises to resort to different forms of protest—meetings, declarations, short-term strikes. "But please do not resort to hunger strikes," Fyodorov warned the islanders. "It is not enough to be a democrat, one must be a patriotically-minded democrat," Fyodorov told the inhabitants of Sakhalin and the Kuril islands. He promised to go on fighting against the transfer of the islands to Japan.

Deputy Believes POW's in Afghanistan Overlooked

LD3009024991

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian at 1630 GMT on 29 September, in the "TV Inform" newscast, carries a three-minute report by reporter Tikhomirov on Soviet POW's.

Over stills of Soviet POW's, Tikhomirov claims that the Soviet Union has abandoned its POW's from the Afghan war three times. He interviews Russian Deputy I.I. Andronov, who says: "I would say that this is a case of betrayal of them by the motherland. It cast them into that furnace straight from school; then, as I have already told you, for eight of the nine years of the Afghan war it did not mention them while they were imprisoned. They did not exist. Then it was decided to withdraw the troops. The Geneva peace agreements were concluded on Afghanistan. There was not one line, not one word in them about the fate of our POW's, so the parties who signed the agreements with us were under no obligation to do anything."

Tikhomirov notes the sinister role of former KGB Chairman Kryuchov in the Afghan war, adding: "After the withdrawal of the Army in 1989, it now became the KGB's war nourished by our supplies of arms and foodstuffs worth 5 billion [rubles] per year.

Andronov notes: "Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] called for these supplies to be halted in exchange for our POW's in July of last year. I went with this proposal and talked with the Mojaheddin and they agreed with this arrangement. They said: Stop killing us; stop these deadly missile supplies and we will hand over your POW's, but all this was sabotaged, wrecked, by Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov."

Tikhomirov notes that when the United States and USSR recently agreed to halt all arms supplies to Afghanistan, the issue of the Soviet POW's was again overlooked. In conclusion, Andronov states: "Since the troop withdrawal only eight POW's have been freed, that is, since February 1991. Now the official missing list numbers 304 persons." He says he thinks that the fact that they are ordinary, small town boys and not the sons of any top officials is one reason behind their continuing plight.

Belorussia

Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich Biography

PM2709133391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Mikhail Shimanskiy under the "Direct Link" rubric: "New Chairman of Belarusan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Minsk—Stanislav Shushkevich, 56 years old, has been elected the new chairman of the Belarusan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet at an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet. He won on a multiple candidate basis. S. Shushkevich was working previously as first deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet. The question of the election of the republic Supreme Soviet chairman had been discussed at the session for two days in an extremely tense atmosphere.

S. Shushkevich is a well-known scientist in the republic who has headed laboratories and departments of nuclear physics in various Minsk higher educational institutions, a winner of the Belarusan State Prize, a people's deputy of the country, and a member of the Interregional Deputies Group.

In politics he is an active supporter of democratic changes and a devotee of the speediest introduction of market relations and private ownership. He advocates full sovereignty and independence for Belarus while simultaneously preserving strong economic ties with other sovereign republics and, primarily, with Russia.

S. Shushkevich deems it necessary to preserve the Union, even if it is going to "consist of four republics."

Kravchenko Addresses UN on Foreign Policy

LD2809040891 Moscow TASS in English
1659 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations September 27 TASS—Addressing the 46th U.N. General Assembly session here on Thursday [26 September], Belarusan Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko outlined guidelines in the Belarusan Republic's foreign policy. He told the audience about recent developments in Belarus, emphasising the importance of the Supreme Soviet's statement about the republic's political and economic independence.

He said the first steps towards greater sovereignty had already been taken—negotiations with the neighbouring states of Russia, the Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania were either completed or began. Kravchenko said the Belarusan Republic hoped for the support of its undertakings by the world community, the establishment of fully-fledged interstate relations and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

He set out the foreign policy principles of the Belarusan Republic. These include, first, achieving real independence and sovereignty for the state. "We are to create favourable internal and foreign political conditions that would bring about a string of diplomatic recognitions," Kravchenko said. "Second, this is interaction in creating a single economic space, a new union of sovereign states. We stand for preserving, developing and giving new substance to traditional economic relations and on this basis—for participation in the process to form a community of sovereign states to replace the USSR," Kravchenko stressed.

"Third, it is necessary that international support be mustered to help us grapple with the Chernobyl problem, the gravest disaster of the 20th century, which became our national tragedy for centuries. Developments showed that the U.N.-sponsored programme of cooperation was being implemented not easily and encountered difficulties. In these conditions, we are especially grateful to countries which stated they would take part in international programmes to cushion the effects of the Chernobyl disaster during a conference to announce contributions to this activity held on September 20."

Kravchenko drew attention to the need to turn Belarus into a nuclear-free zone and a neutral state. "The future of the nuclear potential on Belarusan territory—its use, deployment or re-deployment and control over it—can and should be decided only with the direct involvement of Belarus rather than behind its back. This also applies to any other components of the military potential on our territory," he said.

Kravchenko listed involving Belarus in the European process, creating conditions for the establishment of market structures in Belarus and an upturn in its economy, ensuring ecological safety and free interaction of cultures among other main directions in Belarus's foreign political activity.

Shushkevich on Economic Talks With Germany

LD2909083791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1805 GMT 26 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kalintsev]

[Text] Bonn, 26 Sep (TASS)—Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, has held a news conference in Bonn devoted to the results of his first unofficial visit to the FRG. The main aim of the trip, he told newsmen, was to establish direct contacts with politicians and representatives of the country's business and industrial circles, and to show them the prospects for the development of cooperation with the republic. Meetings with Johannes Rau, the prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and with Karl-Dieter Spranger, the federal minister for economic cooperation, and discussions at the Foreign Ministry, the Ministries of Economics and Health, and Chambers of Trade and Industry were devoted to these tasks. For me personally, as a politician with little experience, Stanislav Shushkevich commented, it was important to find out what the FRG owes its great successes to.

The FRG's business circles can be assured that protection of their investments on the territory of Belarus will be guaranteed. A package of laws aimed at creating the most favorable conditions for the activity of foreign firms is now being drawn up in the republic. This work, like the process of dismantling state control of the economy, is linked with certain difficulties, as Belarus, in contrast to the countries of eastern Europe, has had absolutely no experience of managing a market economy. We cannot carry out privatization too quickly, for we do not have the right to set one mass of the population against another. We are seeking to avoid the events which are occurring now in other regions of the Soviet Union. The republic lost nearly one in three of its inhabitants during World War II, so we are aiming to protect people who are entitled to expect their leadership to make well-considered decisions.

Answering journalists' questions, Stanislav Shushkevich pointed out that the question of establishing diplomatic relations with the FRG was not raised during his visit. Belarus does not intend to secede from the USSR, though this does not contradict its sovereignty and independence. The republic plans to continue to use the services of the USSR's embassies, although it does intend to have its own missions, including some of an nontraditional type: with the help of local firms, for example. Belarus is prepared to take over a proportion of the USSR's foreign debt, commensurate with its population, and is interested in obtaining direct credits from the FRG, particularly to develop its industry concerned with processing and storing agricultural produce. At the same time, it will have nothing against the centralized distribution of foreign credits, on condition that the Union bodies' activities are clearly defined, and the greatest consideration is given to the interests of the republics.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet stressed that in its policies, Belarus operates on the basis of the principle of the inviolability of European borders. It has no territorial claims against either Poland or Lithuania. It would be madness to raise the question of a review of borders under present conditions. The numerous instances of ethnic conflicts in the USSR are a clear example of this. The republic will make its relations with other states dependent on the extent to which they observe human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities, including the Belarusan diaspora. In return, it guarantees free development to representatives of all nations living on its territory.

Ukraine

Kravchuk Ends U.S. Visit With Meetings, Speeches

LD2709164691 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Text] Washington September 27 TASS—Ukrainian parliament leader Leonid Kravchuk wound up his official visit to Washington on Thursday [26 September]. He had a meeting with U.S. President George Bush, which passed in a comfortable atmosphere of mutual understanding. The sides continued to discuss international cooperation and forging direct Ukrainian-U.S. relations, a process that began during Bush's visit to Kiev on August 1, 1991.

Kravchuk also met leaders of both chambers of the U.S. Congress. The Democrats leader of the Senate George Mitchell and Republican minority leader Robert Dole attended the meeting. During the discussions Kravchuk favoured developing regular contacts between permanent commissions and committees of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress.

Speaking in the U.S. National Press Club on Thursday, Kravchuk said the extraordinary session of the Ukrainian parliament passed an act declaring the Ukraine's independence and the formation of an independent Ukrainian state. "From now on," he said, "only the constitution and laws of the Ukraine are in force in our republic. The entire power to ensure its foreign political and foreign economic interests lies with the republic. It was decided to hold a referendum of the Ukrainian population on December 1, 1991 to irreversibly confirm our decision."

Kravchuk said [that] at the republic's referendum last March almost 75 per cent of citizens answered "yes" to the question on whether the Ukraine should be a sovereign power based on the principles of the declaration of state sovereignty proclaimed by the Supreme Soviet.

Kravchuk said [that] in the current situation following the collapse of the coup in the USSR, the Ukrainian parliament was also guided by the will of the people when it approved the act on the declaration of the Ukraine's independence on August 24, 1991. "We hope this decision by parliament will be supported by the overwhelming majority of the population at the all-Ukraine referendum on December 1, 1991," Kravchuk said.

"We will do everything we can for the Ukraine to join the European and world communities as an equal democratic and law-governed power," Kravchuk said.

After Washington, Kravchuk will visit Boston and Chicago. On September 30, he will address the plenary session of the UN General Assembly in New York and will also meet UN chief Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Prime Minister Disagrees With Debt Repayment Plan

LD3009044891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Ukrainian Prime Minister Fokin has sent a letter to the country's committee for the operational management of the national economy. It describes as discriminatory the charging of the republics with credits to which they have not agreed, as part of the repayment of the USSR's foreign debt. If the situation does not change, the Ukraine will find it impossible to take part in the work of the interrepublican committee and reserves the right to conclude agreements on foreign loans independently, says the letter of the Ukrainian prime minister.

Economic Expert Discusses Plan

LD3009042891 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] In the view of Ivan Ivanov, director of the consultative center of the (Academy of National Economy) of the Ukraine, who is taking part in the interrepublican negotiations on clearing the USSR's debt, the apportionment of debtors' liabilities among the republics acquiring independence could be one of the most complex and contradictory problems. The USSR's foreign debt, which is over $70 billion, is stated in (?560) individual agreements. The major creditors are Germany, Italy, and Japan. It is practically impossible to simply apportion these liabilities among the 15 sovereign states, as there are various currencies, liquidation terms, and interest rates. If the debt could be divided according to the population, the main burden of repayment would rest on the Central Asian republics. If one takes into account the republics' proportional contribution to the net national income, then the debts would mainly have to be paid by Russia, the Ukraine, and the Baltic republics. At present, the interrepubican group of experts has arrived at the conclusion that the foreign debt should be divided on the basis of other indices. These are: each republic's proportion in export and import of products, to the net national income, and population.

Change to Permanent Representation in Moscow

LD2809222591 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Proceeding from the act of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine and with the purpose of protecting the republic's interests during the transitional period of the formation of a new system of state relations, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine has sanctioned the transformation of the permanent representation of the Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers. The latter, attached to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, will henceforth become the Ukraine's permanent representation of the Cabinet of Ministers for external economic and cultural ties to the city of Moscow.

It has been entrusted with carrying out permanent liaison with inter-republican bodies of management of the economy and other republics' representations with the aim of protecting the Ukraine's sovereign rights, expanding and strengthening economic and cultural cooperation between republics, and systematically informing the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine on these issues. The permanent representation will also carry out work with foreign countries' embassies and missions accredited in Moscow on issues presenting mutual interest.

Proposed Candidates for President Number 66

LD2909141491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] The central election commission working group for electing the Ukrainian president met for a regular session today. A number of statements and protocols from work collectives proposing their candidates for president were examined. Certificates and signed letters were given to ten citizens engaged in the election struggle on their own initiative. Pensioner Adolf Mykolayovych Andriyenko, proposed by residents of Moscow's Kharkov district, and pensioner Ivan Hryhorovych Sverchkov, proposed by the meeting of the work collective of Poltava tinned food factory, were registered as proposed candidates. Poet Borys Ilich Oliynyk appeared last on the list of proposed candidates. He was given preference by work collectives of a number of educational establishments of the town of Antratsit, Lugansk oblast. Altogether, certificates of a proposed candidate for president were given to 66 citizens of the Ukraine as it stood on 26 September.

KGB Appeals to People's Deputies for Fairness

PM2709115191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under the "Direct Link" rubric: "Chekists Appeal for Fairness"]

[Text] Kiev—The KGB remains a department of unpredictable actions. Ukrainian chekists have sent a letter to the republic's people's deputies.

A special commission of the republic Supreme Soviet is now carefully checking out the activity of the Ukrainian KGB during the days of the coup. Its conclusions have not yet been made public, but here are words anticipating these events contained in the chekists' letter to the republic people's deputies: "Today we are being accused of failing to expose in good time the conspiracy against democracy. Maybe it is a fair rebuke."

Emphasizing that they are not turning to the deputies with a grudge or a complaint, the authors of the open letter call for "an objective look, in accordance with state wisdom, to be taken at the alarming situation which is taking shape around the state security organs." "The theme of the state security organs' blame for all our people's misfortunes and sad trials is being aired persistently" in the mass media, at rallies, and in the Supreme Soviet. People "accuse" us, the letter states, of using illegal work ethics and methods, trying to suggest the idea that it is immoral and unethical to cooperate with KGB organs in the matter of defending the fatherland's interests.

But what do the Ukrainian KGB staffers propose? Here is the position and the proposals of those who signed the open letter to the deputies: "Feeling the heavy burden of moral responsibility for the consequences of the totalitarian system, we do not wish to be the 'armed detachment' of any political parties whatever, we resolutely support the policy of developing democracy and asserting the Ukraine's statehood, and we are probably more aware than anyone of the urgent need for radical changes in the republic security organs." And so it is proposed to adopt without delay a law on the Ukrainian KGB which would gear the organs to defending "the incipient statehood and the rights and freedoms of every citizen of the Ukraine, and not to seeking enemies within their own people."

Enterprise Contributes Funds for Grain Purchase

LD3009043491 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The collective of the industrial association Arsenal plant decided to give the enterprise's ready currency—50,000 convertible rubles—toward purchasing forage grain abroad. The Arsenal employees thereby responded to the appeal by Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin to enterprises and organizations which possess currency, to lend hard currency to the Cabinet of Ministers for procuring grain.

Airports Closed Due to 'Critical' Fuel Shortage

LD3009022191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] There is a critical situation in the Ukraine in regard to aircraft fuel, resulting in 22 airports being virtually closed. According to a spokesman for the Odessa aviation detachment, the reason for this is that deliveries of fuel have simply stopped. Only aircraft arriving with their own supply of aviation kerosene are able to depart on schedule. [Video shows airports]

Paper to Publishers in Exchange for Foodstuffs

LD2909041491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] One daily after another bid their last farewell to Ukrainian readers. The chairman of the Ukrainian Press Committee, Yuriy Dyachenko, attributes this to the unsettled state of economic relations with Russia. He says the Russian Federation is willing to supply Ukrainian publishers with the required amount of paper in exchange for foodstuffs. But if the Ukraine fails to supply Russia with a certain amount of food it will face another paper shortage next year.

Moldova

Snegur To Resign If Force Used in Dnestr

AU2709115391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0947 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/9/1991—The leadership of the republic has taken all measures to stabilize the situation in Transdnestr by exclusively political means, stated the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircha Snegur, before the country's parliament. The government created a special operative group for the establishment of contacts with decisionmakers in Transdnestr. To achieve Moldova's state independent [independence] is our major goal. In such conditions, he said, it is extremely necessary to reach civic consensus so as Moldova should be recognized on an international plane and establish relations with Western business circles. If the parliament demands the use of force in settling the conflict in Transdnestr, I shall forsake the office of president of the republic, stated Mircha Snegur.

Situation 'Explosive'

LD2709224191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] The situation in Dubossary remains explosive. The sides confronting each other interpret the developments in different ways, giving sometimes conflicting versions of events. A TASS correspondent was informed at the town soviet that life in the town is paralyzed. Enterprises, schools, and kindergartens are idle. The building housing the local branch of Agroprombank has been occupied.

According to Viktor Dyukarev, deputy of the republican Supreme Soviet, the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON], the police, and volunteers who have arrived from the other side of the Dnestr are terrorizing the local population. Dissatisfaction and indignation is rising among the city residents who have come to defend the town soviet. Retaliatory measures including the use of force may be possible.

According to Dmitriy Korlytyanu, head of a department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Moldova, the police are using all their strength to try to prevent people from the right bank of the Dnestr and Moldovan villages from entering the town. These people are moving in the direction of Dubossary. He accused Deputy Dyukarev of provoking clashes. Units of the Soviet Army stationed in the town have received an order from the USSR Ministry of Defense not to interfere in the actions undertaken by civilians. The units are maintaining neutrality.

Train traffic resumed in the afternoon through railway station Bendery-2 after a prolonged blockade. Kharchenko, acting chairman of town executive committee, told a TASS correspondent that the blockade has been lifted for three days. To have the blockade completely lifted, all the deputies previously detained should be released and criminal charges against the women who took part in the picketing dropped. This act of goodwill has been undertaken in order to enter into a political dialogue with the government of Moldova and to resolve urgent problems.

Blockade Temporarily Removed

OW2709182791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A committee of women from the Dnestr region decided on Friday [27 September] to remove the blockade on the railroad tracks into Bendery for three days. As INTERFAX was told in the press center in the Dnestr region of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, this gesture of good will by the committee gives the leadership of Moldova the opportunity to "take answering steps." (As is known, the main demand of the blockade participants is that the group of leaders and Peoples' Deputies of the Dniestr region, who were arrested and accused of supporting the August coup, are set free.)

Besides this, in another city on the left bank of the Dnestr, Dubossary, the situation towards morning on Friday was relatively stable, with the exception of small incidents in which the OMON [Special Purpose Military Detachment] special forces took part at the city power station and a sewing factory. The leader of the Dnestr region press center, Valeriy Litskay, told INTERFAX that on Friday a group of members of parliament from Kishinev had been in Dubossary, which was a "big surprise."

In Mr. Litskay's words, there was a telephone conversation on Friday between the leaders of Moldova and the Dnestr region in the Moldovan SSR. Kishinev suggested that to stabilize the situation the permanently active demonstration around the building of the State Soviet in Dubossary be dissolved in exchange for the promise that a sub-unit of the OMON be safely let out of the city. It was also promised that the leadership of Moldova look into the request that the Peoples' Front take their volunteers out of Dubossary.

Valeriy Litskay underlined the announcement that the police in Dubossary had been disbanded. 38 of its members have gone over to the side of the Dnestr region, and the rest have remained faithful to the Moldovan Government, and barricaded themselves into a city police department building. There has been no move to defend the police building by the detachment inside.

Valeriy Litskay also stated that a delegation from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs had visited Moldova earlier to see the Deputy Minister Aleksandr Kulikov, and had held a few meetings with collectives from the upholders of the rights of the organs of the republic. In the course of this meeting with colleagues in Tiraspol, the delegation from the Internal Ministry called upon its co-workers to refrain from interfering in the political process.

Mr. Litskay denied that OMON special unit forces had started to storm the City Soviet building in Dubossary.

Rail Blockade Suspended

LD2909200491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Report by program presenter Vladimir Berezin; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] A political statement has been circulated today by the women's strike committee of the Pridnestrovye and Gagauz regions, who are blocking the railway line. They have adopted a decision to suspend their blockade of the railway line for three days from 27 to 30 September, and in this way they are to give the president of the Republic of Moldova the opportunity to think about his responsibility for the actions of the republic's government. The strike committee is awaiting a decision on the release of the Pridnestrovye and Gagauz deputies.

Also today, the chairman of the Dnestr Republic Supreme Soviet appealed to the USSR president and members of the Supreme Soviet, calling on them to utilize the great authority and possibilities of Russian and Ukrainian presidential authority to find a genuine democratic resolution to the problems of the Dnestr Republic.

Kishinev Delegation 'Ultimatums'

LD2709212991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Conflicting reports are being received on the course of negotiations in Dubossary between representatives of the city council and a delegation from Kishinev. As INTERFAX was told by Valeriy Litskay, head of the press center of the Dnestr Supreme Soviet, the negotiations between the city council and the Moldovan Supreme Soviet on stabilizing the situation were essentially frustrated on Friday [27 September] in Dubossary, where clashes took place the other day.

The Kishinev delegation was headed by Viktor Berlinskiy, member of the Presidium of the Moldovan legislature and chairman of the permanent commission on the fight against crime. According to Litskay, during the negotiations Berlinskiy put forward ultimatums. In particular, he demanded unconditional unblockading of all roads, capitulation by members of workers' detachments who are occupying the building of the city council of Dubossary, and handing over of all weapons they possess. Even if this is implemented, Berlinskiy demands that a permanent presence of the Moldovan Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] in Dubossary be recognized. This is an ultimatum without any possibility of acceptance, Litskay stressed. According to him, the leader of the Kishinev delegation threatens that if the ultimatum is not accepted immediately, strong actions will be taken in the next few days.

Moldovan radio refuted the information on the frustrated negotiations in Dubossary. It reported that the negotiations continue.

Police Control 'Important' Roads

LD2809105191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0945 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Dubossary, 28 Sep (TASS)—Forces of the Moldovan police today took control of all important roads and road junctions in the Dnestr Republic. A TASS correspondent was told in the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs that this had been done so as to prevent the arrival in Dubossary of armed detachments—the hasty mustering of which was proceeding, according to information supplied by the police, in Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa, and other inhabited localities in the Dnestr Republic. According to information provided by the Dubossary town soviet, help is also being sent to the other conflicting side. In villages in the areas adjacent to Dubossary, activists of the Moldovan Popular Front are urging people to take up arms and advance on the Left Bank.

In the Procuracy of the Republic of Moldova, a TASS correspondent was told that Mikhail Kendigelyan, one of the arrested leaders of the Gagauz Republic and a deputy of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet, had been released today. We remind you that the women demanding the release of the arrested deputies have ended their three-day picketing of the railway.

First Round of Talks

OW2809155291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The first round of Dubossary talks on Friday between Moldovan and Dnestr officials yielded a set of preliminary conditions for normalizing the situation in the city of Dubossary.

According to the press center of the Dnestr Republic's Supreme Soviet, the parties agreed that the worker detachments from other left bank cities and the units of Popular Front (PF) volunteers would be withdrawn from Dubossary. The OMON [Special Purpose Miltia Detachment] force would then leave the city and get stationed along the motorways. If the situation on the left bank of the Dnestr showed clear signs of normalization during the next 2-3 days, OMON troops would be fully withdrawn from the area.

Moldovan President Mircha Snegur is said to have welcomed the agreements reached.

The two delegations were scheduled to open a second round of negotiations at 14:00 today, to compare their stands once again before ordering action on the existing arrangements.

Since the talks got under way, the situation in Dubossary has been relatively stable, with either side defending the earlier occupied positions. The Moldovan police and PF volunteers are controlling the police headquarters and the city bank, as well as the bridge and all the approaches to Dubossary. The City Soviet, the square outside it and most offices in the city center are blocked by military hardware, worker detachments and residents who employ much the same methods as White House defenders did in Moscow during the August coup. No clashes vere reported during Friday night or Saturday morning.

A Moldovan delegation led by the deputy head of the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Puskasu, is scheduled to meet later today with the head of the Dnestr Supreme Soviet, Mr. Marakutsa, to discuss ways of settling the crisis. The results of the talks, which are expected to be very important, will be announced in the evening.

Nikolay Travkin, who has arrived in the Dnestr Republic to found a local chapter of the Democratic Party, may take part in the settlement talks.

Talks 'Practically Broken Down'

LD2809190291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1647 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The INTERFAX agency reports that the talks in Dubossary between delegations from the town soviet and the Moldovan Supreme Soviet have practically broken down. The reason appears to lie in the fact that the head of the Moldovan delegation has presented an impossible ultimatum. He demands that the blockade of railway lines be lifted, the workers' detachments capitulate, and all their weapons be handed over.

Moldovan radio has refuted this report, reporting from Kishinev that the situation in Dubossary is normal.

Second Round of Talks

LD3009014191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1109 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The sitation in the Republic of Moldova continues to deteriorate. We have just received two contributions from this region. Viktor Dyukerev, people's deputy of the Republic of Moldova and of the Dnestr Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, reports from Dubossary.

[Begin Dyukerev recording] The Dnestr region is asking for assistance in deterring the aggression of the Republic of Moldova. On 27 September Mr. Berlinskiy, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Moldova, arrived in the town of Dubossary. The people of the Dnestr region were presented with conditions sounding very much like an ultimatum. Guarantees for their fulfillment have not been ensured.

The negotiations passed under the psychological pressure of submachine gunners who had come right up to the town's defenders—confined to a small area around the town soviet. When people learned about the demands made, they said: No! We will stay here until the end. We would rather be killed.

Today, 28 September, the square in front of the town soviet is again full of people. They are awaiting the arrival of Travkin, USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputy. The people are requesting all possible assistance from the Ukraine, Russia, other republics, and foreign countries. They say that against brute force there is only one argument—an even more powerful force. [end recording]

Here is what were told by Vasiliy Grazavu, press secretary for the president of the Republic of Moldova:

[Begin Grazavu recording] The situation in Dubossary may return to normal after a conversation of the Supreme Soviet commission, which is composed of commission Chairman Nadezhda Paisanu and Viktor Berlinskiy. Today, in the course of an hour, they answered questions from radio listeners. Unfortunately, not everyone heard this or could ask questions, as the broadcasts of national radio and television are not being relayed to the so-called republics. The deputies noted that, on the whole, lies are being resorted to in order to whip up passions. For instance, Deputy Priyezanov said that she personally checked the reliability of the facts about the arrest of the husbands of a few wives who had complained and they were not confirmed. The very same subject had been confirmed by one of the representatives of the authorities of Dubossary. It must be understood that only dialogue will promote a peaceful resolution of differences.

The second meeting of these deputies is now taking place. The republic's leadership is taking all necessary measures to prevent civil clashes. Measures are being taken in order to prevent trouble, so that people will disperse to their homes and so that the armed detachments from Rybnitsa and Tiraspol will hand in their weapons. Demands were voiced for both storage rooms and basements to be checked.

In Bendery and Tiraspol the situation has already normalized. Yesterday the railways were unblocked. The government of the republic positively assessed the decisions made by the session of the Bendery and Tiraspol town soviets. [end recording]

Demonstrators Awaiting 'Assault'

LD2909221591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] Alarming reports have been circulating in the square in front of the Dubossary town executive committee building where, as before, hundreds of people are participating in a rally. Beginning at 1900, reports have been received to the effect that over 40 buses carrying armed people have arrived in the town from the right bank of the Dnestr. These armed people are assembling one kilometer from the square.

The rally participants are awaiting an assault with alarm. The only hope lies in the negotiations that are now taking place in Tiraspol. Taking part are delegations from the parliaments of Moldova, Pridnestrovye, and Russia. Today the negotiation participants are expected to arrive in Dubossary.

Interethnic Tension To Prompt Russian Exodus

LD2809221791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] More than 60 percent of Russians in Moldova are prepared to leave the republic because of the interethnic tension. This is indicated by the results of an opinion poll published in the 27 September issue of the paper KISHINEVSKIYE NOVOSTI. The paper reports on the work of the Russian Cultural Center in Moldova, which helps those who wish to leave for permanent residence in Russia. It seems that the slogan: 'suitcase, railway station, Russia'—which formerly sounded insulting, and which a year ago was being chanted by participants in meetings of many thousands of people in the squares of Kishinev—shows Russians the only way of escaping moral terror, KISHINEVSKIYE NOVOSTI points out.

Last night passed without any particular incidents in Dubossary, an RIA correspondent was told by Dmitriy Korlytyanu, a head of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. People stood all night near the building of the rayon militia, which contained an OMON [Special Purpose Militia] detachment loyal to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to Korlytyanu, the main task of the OMON is to restrain the opposing sides and to prevent bloodshed. However, the Ministry of Internal Affairs believes that coping with this task becomes more difficult with each day. During the clashes in Dubossary on 24-25 September three people—a Russian, a Moldovan, and a Ukrainian—received bullet wounds.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Extends State of Emergency

LD2709172191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia today signed a decree in accordance with which the state of emergency will be prolonged from 28 September for a further month in Tskhinvali, Dzhava rayon, and the settlement of Dzhava. The curfew is to continue from 2200 to 0700.

Gamsakhurdia Calls Opposition 'Corrupted Mafia'

LD2809111591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 28 Sep (TASS)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has stated in an interview to the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY that he would not dramatize the events going on in Tbilisi. "Out of the 1.3 million inhabitants of Tbilisi," he said, "there are two to three thousand confronting the legitimate authorities. They are a corrupted mafia, former Communists and former privileged people, plus the 'street opposition'—hooligans who want to be called political parties—plus deserters from the National Guard who have sided with the coup organizers. And of course there is the junta itself, in the shape of former members of the government. A small part of the city is under their control."

Speaking about the position of parliament in this regard, Gamsakhurdia commented that "if parliament gets drawn into the coup, if the coup organizers gain the upper hand there, parliament will be dissolved."

The president described the United States' stance on Georgia as a wait-and-see position. "The United States is always looking around at Moscow," he commented.

Dealing with Georgia's future, Gamsakhurdia said it has a very favorable geopolitical position, and when it attains independence, it is capable of becoming one of the richest countries.

Gamsakhurdia commented positively on the good relations which have developed now with Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan. "We are trying very hard to establish proper relations with Russia, but it is not going very well so far, as aggressive forces are impeding my relations with Yeltsin," he stated. At the same time, the president did not rule out the possibility of concluding a military alliance with Russia, on condition that Russia "renounce imperial diktat."

Procurator Denies Ordering Arrest of Opposition

LD2909065191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that Georgian Procurator Vakhtang Razmadze has denied rumors that he has signed an order for the arrest of opposition members. Speaking on Tbilisi television, he once again guaranteed that those who acted within the law and laid down their weapons would not be arrested.

Government-Opposition Negotiations Under Way

AU2809114091 Paris AFP in English 1127 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, Georgia, Sept 28 (AFP)—Negotiations were underway between the government and the opposition in Georgia in a bid to avoid bloodshed after tense anti-government protests that have split the republic's national guard, reports here said.

The capital was calm overnight, after two nights of sporadic firing around the city's television building where the opposition protected by rebel guardsmen has been holed up for days fearing an attack by government forces.

Some reports said an accord had been reached with the forces trying to oust President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

But the press service for the Georgian presidency said negotiations between the government and opposition, which opened Friday night, were continuing on Saturday morning. A spokesman said Justice Minister Johnny Khetsuriani was handling the negotiations for the government side in the morning.

Sources said the talks started Friday night between former prime minister and opposition leader Tenguiz Sigua and the head of the rebel guardsman, Tenguiz Kitovani for the anti-government forces, and Deputy Interior Minister Roman Kventsadze for the government side.

They are aimed at defusing the tension that reached a climax on Wednesday when a state of emergency was declared in the divided city.

The shooting Wednesday night was between rebel guardsmen inside the television station and troops loyal to the government, who started stopping and searching residents of the capital Thursday night, as well as stopping motorists to check their papers and searching vehicles for arms.

The commander of the capital, who has been ordered to enforce the state of emergency, however, said "the only shots heard this night in some neighborhoods of the city had nothing to do with this business."

The opposition charges the president, a dissident under the former communist regime, with adopting dictatorial methods and inciting ethnic strife since his landslide victory as the republic's first elected president in May.

The confrontation heightened after Gamsakhurdia declared Georgia's independence following last month's failed coup by communist hardliners in Moscow.

'Immunity' Pledged for Opposition

LD3009142191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Talks between the Georgian goverment and opposition representatives, begun on 22 September, have been broken off. A RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY correspondent was told at the Georgian president's office press center that this happened because the opposition rejected the authorities' proposal that the contending sides be disarmed. [passage omitted]

Gamsakhurdia today told the opposition that its members who lay down their arms won't be punished. They are guaranteed immunity. Otherwise, the measures provided for by law will be taken, he threatened.

Talks Cancelled

LD3009101891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia has said another round of talks with the opposition, scheduled for today, will not take place. He said the reason was that the opposition did not lay down arms, referring to last night's explosion in the capital Tbilisi, in which at least five people were wounded. The bomb was set off near the television center held by the oppositionals' [as heard] democratic forces. According to Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the opposition is to be held responsible.

The opposition, however, denied the responsibility, claiming a grenade was launched from a grenade launcher in the direction of the building. The Georgian leadership insists that the National Guard units, which took the side of the opposition, be disarmed. The former Georgian prime minister, Tengiz Sigua, has said in an interview for the Moscow daily PRAVDA that the main opposition demands are to convene a televized Parliament session on the present situation in the republic, to hold a nationwide referendum and call off new Parliamentary elections.

Paramilitaries Reject Truce Plan

LD2909171591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1644 GMT 29 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 29 Sep (TASS)—The Georgian National Guard's initiative to stabilize the situation in the republic's capital has come to nothing. Its commanders today proposed a truce agreement with the paramilitary formations loyal to President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, but were met with a refusal from the authorities. In the view of the combined opposition forces, the agreement would have created the conditions for constructive talks with the republic's leadership and resumption of the work of the Georgian Supreme Soviet session which was broken off at the president's initiative.

Anti-Gamsakhurdia Protests, Clashes Continue

Government Issues Ultimatum

OW2709204391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Many people are taking part in a demonstration at the parliament building in Tbilisi and demands are periodically being made to storm the parliament, our correspondent reports.

Meanwhile the leadership of President Gamsakhurdia is hardening its position. It has issued an ultimatum demanding that the rebels surrender their weapons. Those who do not comply will be regarded as terrorists. Last night a large contingent of armed presidential guards occupied the Palace of Sport Building, just 200 metres from the TV centre. The Palace of Sport has consequently come under fire from the opposition. All roads to the TV centre have been sealed off and opposition supporters are driving around Tbilisi and using loud-speakers to call people to the TV centre.

Arms Confiscations Begin

OW2809155191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the press center of the Military Commandant of Tbilisi, Friday night was relatively quiet in the Georgian capital. National guards and policemen loyal to President Gamsakhurdia were not reported to have clashed with "illegal armed units."

After the term of the ultimatum advanced by Commandant Djemal Kutateladze expired on Friday morning, law-enforcement bodies began, "in full compliance with law," to confiscate arms from the paramilitary units but only obtained one rifle, one revolver and a few hundred cartridges during the subsequent 24 hours.

Several underground train stoppages caused by "technical faults" occurred on Saturday morning, the commandant said.

Reports on Shooting 'Contradictory'

LD2909114491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] The reports that TASS correspondents have managed to gather about last night's shooting near the opposition's headquarters are scanty and contradictory. The sides in the conflict have confirmed the fact, but each construes it in its own way. At the press center of the military commandant's office for the state of emergency, it was thus reported that there had been no direct military confrontation. What did take place was a misunderstanding, and shots were fired into the air. The other side's representative, however, a participant in

Saturday night's events, had a different version. According to him, the guards on duty taking care of the approach to the building of the Georgian State Television Department, where the opposition has its headquarters, met three unidentified men armed with automatic machine guns in the dark. In response to the guard's demand that they give a pass word, the latter opened overwhelming fire, and wounded one of the guards with ease. Retaliatory fire was used to press the attackers to the ground and to disarm them.

In the past 24 hours, representatives of the National Guard who have refused to obey the orders of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia detained and disarmed at least two intelligence groups consisting of republican Ministry of Internal Affairs staff and members of the people's local militia set up following the call by the president to defend the lawfully elected parliament and president.

Situation 'Severly Deteriorated'

LD2809195991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 28 Sep (TASS) The situation in Tbilisi has severely deteriorated today, following numerous broadcasts on local radio by Besik Kutateladze, deputy defense minister of the Republic. He stated that there are a lot of weapons and explosives in the headquarters of the All Georgian "Merab Kostav" Society situated in the center of the capital not far from Rustaveli Square.

Seventeen Supreme Soviet Deputies on behalf of this party, which used to be a member of the Round Table ruling bloc, have gone on hunger strike there in protest against the policy of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. The deputy defense minister has called on the population of the areas in the vicinity of the headquarters to leave their homes. He also stated that the army will be used only if members of this opposition party make the first military move. Tengiz Kitovani, the commander of the National Guard, who no longer gives allegiance to the President, stated at a news conference this evening that his subunits are ready to help the All-Georgian "Merab Kostav" society if its headquarters are attacked by government troops.

Our position will remain the same, Tengiz Kitovani said, and we will take the side of whoever becomes the object of their attack. We will surely get through to the other end of the city if needs be, he stressed.

Gunfire Interrupts Sigua Briefing

LD2809212991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1950 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 28 Sep (TASS)—A news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists by Tengiz Sigua, former prime minister of Georgia, was suddenly interrupted today. The reason for this was an intensive exchange of fire near the building of the State Television and Radio Department of the Republic in the center of its capital. The headquarters of the democratic opposition forces are situated in this building.

Journalists managed to hear only answers to some questions today regarding the situation which, according to their observations, is getting worse and worse. Tengiz Sigua had time to say that the position of the democratic forces remains the same—to obtain by constitutional means the resignation of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, to dissolve parliament, and to hold new elections.

The former prime minister told journalists that a series of consultative meetings between representatives of the opposition and supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia started today. The first such meeting was held two days ago in "the Georgian Vatican"—the residence of Catholicos Ilya II, head of the Christian Church in Georgia—but it did not lead to any agreements.

This time the political opponents are again to discuss the questions which will be included on the agenda of planned negotiations between the opposition and the authorities. According to Sigua, this may be a long process.

When the exchange of fire began, Tengiz Sigua was saying that the main demand of the opposition at future negotiations is an immediate start of an extraordinary session of the Republic Supreme Soviet, broadcast live by television. He stated, however, that Gamsakhurdia stands in its way, and "is afraid that the Georgian people could hear the whole truth about the reasons for the political crisis in the Republic".

When journalists were leaving the State Television and Radio Department building, an intense exchange of fire between the confronting sides was going on. Shots were also heard in other parts of Tbilisi.

Deputies Warn of 'Civil War'

LD2809224291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Tbilisi, 28 Sep (SAKINFORM-TASS)—Fifty deputies of the Georgian Supreme Soviet have put their signatures to an appeal to the president of the republic, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and opposition organizations, in which they call on them to implement not declarative but practical measures to establish civil peace in Georgia.

The document expressed regret that both sides have preferred conducting a dialogue from a position of strength, which always gives rise to anticonstitutional and unlawful actions. The recent events offer convincing evidence that civil war in Georgia has in fact already started, although there still exists an opportunity to avoid a national catastrophe. To do this everyone has to grasp a simple truth: It is impossible today to establish either a dictatorial regime or to set up a democratic society with the aid of arms. And for this reason, the appeal reads, the armed formations of both sides should leave Tbilisi without delay, which fact will be the basis of peace negotiations.

Meanwhile, voluntary people's patrols are being formed in Georgia whose aim is to provide assistance to the militia and national guard in the maintenance of order in the republic's capital. Their mobilization is being carried out in accordance with a decree by the president of Georgia on the introduction of a state of emergency in Tbilisi.

Guards Major Vakhtang Kobaliya, head of the main directorate of the Georgian National Guard, has said that the 5,000-strong guard would need no more than 20 minutes to liberate the building of the television and radio department in Tbilisi seized by the armed opposition. The guards do not intend shooting at anyone, however, unless they are brought to this by the extremist forces, he emphasized. The major added that the thousands-strong army of voluntary people's patrols, which is taking the major sites vital to the republic's capital under its guard, will act in just the same way. [passage omitted]

End of Presidency Sought

LD2809190491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1647 GMT 28 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" program]

[Excerpts] The IPRINDA agency reports: Georgian former prime minister Sigua is banking on the Georgian Government agreeing to fresh parliamentary elections and to consideration being given to the status of the [National] Guard, which is supporting the opposition. Sigua said that the opposition is not against Gamsakhurdia as an individual, but rather wants the abolition of the institution of the presidency in Georgia. [passage omitted]

INTERFAX has reported that the members of the opposition are preparing to defend the television and radio complex, which is where they have their makeshift headquarters. They are touring the city appealing for people to come and defend the building.

Opposition Differences Denied

LD2909185791 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 29 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 29 TASS—Rumours about differences between the joint opposition forces and the National Guards of Georgia were refuted today at a news conference of leaders of the democratic alliance. Former Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua described these rumours as deliberate disinformation circulated by the official authorities.

He also said the consultative meetings between representatives of the opposition and the authorities proved futile since the opposing side makes negotiations conditional upon National Guards surrendering arms and dissolution.

"This is unacceptable for the opposition and for the National Guards who refused to obey Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia", Sigua said. "It is apparent to us that the official authorities want the National Guards to be dissolved to be able to launch repressions against the opposition".

'Political Passions' Heightened

LD2709213891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Report from Georgia by reporter M. Ganiyev; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Despite the multiplicity of decrees and appeals being issued by the Georgian government and the introduction of a state of emergency, political passions in Tbilisi are not abating. Gamsakhurdia supporters have been arriving from far and wide at the government house, from rayons, towns and settlements of Georgia.

Once more, interminable rallies, ovations, and cheers are heard for the president. There are self-defense forces in the yard of the government house. There is the National Guard, part of which has gone over to the side of the opposition. There is the personnel of the commandant of Tbilisi. At the demand of the commandant of the city, military formations of political parties—that is, the opposition, these soldiers who are today guarding the television center—must lay down their arms. The citizens are tired of these rallies, but today are declaring that it is they who will defend themselves and their guard. It will definitely be difficult to disarm them now. Meanwhile, the opposition has its own opinion of the state of emergency.

This evening, as we were dispatching our material at the television center, the electricity was turned off. There was no panic among those at the rally. The democrats stood with candles in their hands, and then started transferring to the stadium. The streets were blocked with heavy trucks. Parliamentarians were taken away. People were making noise. Shots were heard from various rayons of Tbilisi. [video shows artillery in the street with caption reading: Clips from 26 September; men in fatigues and civilian clothes; trucks blocking automobile tunnel; rally; unloading of artillery ordnance; artillery piece; rally in darkness; headlights; ambulance]

TV Center Explosion; Injuries

LD3009034391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 30 Sep 91

[Text] Just as before, the country's hotspots are the focal point of our attention. To begin with, I will tell you about the evening exchange of fire in Tbilisi. TASS correspondents have reported that an explosion in front of the building of the State Radio and Television Department of Georgia, the headquarters of the opposition, rang out yesterday at approximately 2200. The shock waves caused the glass from the building's windows to shatter. Glass splinters injured 12 in the crowd at a rally here.

Opposition representatives gave journalists the following version: According to preliminary data, a shot was fired in the direction of the Radio and Television Department from an antitank rocket launcher. The shots were fired by the armed formations controlled by the official authorities. The shell exploded not far from artillery of the National Guard who have refused to obey Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and who have gone over to the side of the opposition.

Immediately after the explosion, shots were fired from an automatic weapon in a red car which sped toward those in the rally. Georgiy Zniladze, 25, received bullet wounds when he went out onto the balcony in a house opposite the opposition headquarters. The National Guard fired back at the motor vehicle and the positions of the government troops. At the same time, the artillery near the exploded shell fired a dummy shell in the direction of the attackers.

Speaking on local television some time later, Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia stated that the incident outside the opposition headquarters was a provocation against the leadership of the republic.

Gamsakhurdia: Blast is 'Provocation'

LD3009100991 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 30 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 30 TASS—A bomb exploded near the Georgian radio and television building, current headquarters of opposition forces, at about 22:00 local time on Sunday, smashing windows and wounding 12 participants in a crowded rally.

According to the opposition, a grenade fired from an anti-tank grenade-launcher by formations controlled by official authorities, exploded near the national guard's artillery gun.

Immediately after the explosion, automatic guns opened fire on participants in the rally from a red car moving at a high speed. Georgy Dzneladze, 25, was wounded on his balcony in front of the opposition headquarters. A group of national guardsmen retaliated and opened fire at the car and government troops. The gun near which the grenade exploded fired a blank at the attackers.

Speaking on local television later in the day, Georgia's President Gamsakhurdia said the incident was a provocation against the republic's leadership.

Reportage on Shavnabada Base Attack, Responses

LD2709113391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Last night, Georgian National Guard Commander Tengiz Kitovani, which refuses to obey the president of Georgia, issued a special report for the press. He stated that at least 60 young guards who had only just joined the service died as a result of attacks by detachments of Zviad Gamsakhurdia's commandos on the National Guard base in Shavnabada in the suburbs of the Georgian capital.

The guards who were killed were unarmed, Tengiz Kitovani told a TASS correspondent. They remained in Shavnabada because they had not been sufficiently trained for military service. There was only a guard detachment at the base with them consisting of six men armed with machine guns and rifles.

The attacks occurred between 0200 and 0300 local time. The well- known Soviet film director Eldar Shengelaya told TASS that this is the start of civil war.

TASS correspondents watched as the national guardsmen standing guard over the democratic opposition headquarters in the building which houses the state radio and television department in Tbilisi formed up with their weapons after the alarm was raised.

Tbilisi Commandant: No Bloodshed

LD2709171491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 27 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program—item read by announcer Marina Nazarova]

[Text] We have received a SAKHINFORM report from Tbilisi confirming the statement by the city's military commandant that the National Guards' base in Shavnabada was occupied by the forces of law and order without a single shot and without deaths [zhertv]. Three guardsmen from the Kutaisi Battalion who were there spoke on republican radio this morning to reassure the population. They confirmed that there was no bloodshed in Shavnabada at all. Tension has risen to the extreme in the city, and provocations like this and the circulating of rumors of deaths that have allegedly occurred makes it even more tense.

This same agency reported that lessons will start in all Georgia's educational establishments on 1 October, which is a delay due to the unstable nature of the situation in the republic at the present time.

Shavnabada Guardsmen Deny Bloodshed

LD2709210791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Our special correspondents in Tbilisi have reported that the statement made last night by Tengiz Kitovani, leader of the opposition national guard, that at least 60 young guards had been killed at the national guards' base in the settlement of Shavnabada, was apparently disinformation. Our correspondents spent the whole night on the square in front of the television center, headquarters of the opposition, and listened to Kitovani's statement. They saw the agitation of the people, the pain and grief that was expressed for lads that had been allegedly killed. Then came the appearance of three guardsmen, who had been on duty at the base in Shavnabada, on the television in the morning. They revealed that there had been no shooting at the base either yesterday or on the day before yesterday, that they had been guarding the townlet of the National Guard during the week, that yesterday the militia came to collect them, and that they had surrendered to the authorities.

After such a confession and appearance on radio and television, the guardsmen were allowed to go home after signing the relevant document.

National Guard Denies 'Mass Desertion' Rumors

LD2909145391 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 29 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 29 TASS—The possibility of Soviet and foreign journalists today had an opportunity to see for themselves that rumours about mass desertion from Georgia's National Guard are not true. [sentence as received]

They visited one of strongpoints of the National Guard that refused to obey President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Artillery guns' crews, a shelter and a communications post are located on the commanding ground in the centre of Tbilisi near the national circus building.

"Rumours about desertions are a lie," guardsmen of Tkibivi Battalion holding these positions, told correspondents. "We took an oath of loyalty to the people and shall never abandon the artillery guns."

According to Colonel Tamaz Dumbadze, deputy commander of the National Guard, there were no instances of desertion.

Opposition Establishes TV Transmitter

LD2909195191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1907 GMT 29 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 29 Sep (TASS)—Hundreds of radio amateurs in the republic and many towns in the country have cooperated to establish a new transmitter to provide Tbilisi residents with stable and high quality reception of nongovernmental television programs. They have thus helped break through the information blockade imposed in Georgia by the authorities.

The new TV transmitter, which is controlled by parties opposed to President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, is considerably more powerful than its predecessor and gives the people of Tbilisi access to alternative sources of information.

Pro-Gamsakhurdia, Government Support Noted

AU2909160291 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] On 26 September, the Center for Social Administration has conducted an opinion poll in Tbilisi on the political situation that has developed in the republic. The poll was conducted in various enterprises, establishments, and organizations. The respondents, who numbered some 1,000, were workers and employees in industrial enterprises and in the transportation, communications, culture, and health protection sectors.

The poll has shown us that a large majority of our people remain true to the choice it made on three occasions [reference to the results of the national elections, referendum, and presidential elections].

In addition, 78 percent of the respondents view as unjust and unacceptable the opposition's demand that the president resign, and consider that it is only the people themselves who have the right to remove the president who has been elected by them. Sixteen percent hold the opposite view.

Some 84.6 percent of the respondents view the methods used by the opposition to influence the government as clearly illegal and unjustifiable. It is interesting to note that 56 percent of the respondents consider that the demands of the opposition take the form of ultimatums and exclude the possibility of achieving a reasonable compromise. It is very significant that, contrary to the rumors being spread by the opposition, the overwhelming majority of the population of Tbilisi supports the course of Georgia's present government and leaders. Specifically:

Seventy-two percent of the respondents positively assess the activity of Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, while only 21.5 percent assess it negatively.

Seventy percent positively assess the activity of Batoni Akaki Asatiani [chairman of the Georgian Supreme Council]; 13.7 percent assess it negatively.

The rating of the republic's prime minister,Vissarion Gugushvili, has risen by 10 percent in the course of the last week.

The poll has also shown us the support enjoyed by other political figures in the republic. Specifically:

Only 2.5 percent faithfully support Batoni Tengiz Kitovani [former commander of the Georgian National Guard], while 60 percent categorically oppose him.

The number of those who actively support Batoni Tengiz Sigua [former prime minister] has dropped by some 11 percent while the number of those who categorically oppose him exceeds 50 percent.

In addition, minimum firm support is enjoyed by the following:

Vazha Adamia [chairman of the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society]—3 percent

Valerian Advadze [chairman of the board of the Union of National Accord and Revival of Georgia]—6 percent

Nodar Natadze [chairman of the Popular Front and the parliamentary opposition faction Democratic Center]—13 percent

Eldar Shengelaya [prominent film director and member of the recently formed opposition faction Charter-91]—13 percent

Irakli Tsereteli [leader of the National Independence Party]—3 percent

Giorgi Chanturia [leader of the National Democratic Party, currently under arrest]—3 percent

and others.

[Signed] The Center for Social Administration.

Military Chief Denies Shevardnadze Link

PM2709182191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1-2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Andreyev: "No One Is Planning a Truce"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 Sep—It is hot in the Georgian capital, both literally and metaphorically. It is 25 degrees and not a cloud in the sky, but the political atmosphere is red-hot. The opposition forces' confrontation with the republic president has already led to bloodshed. There are endless rallies, attended by thousands of people. As zealously as the republic head's loyal supporters (there are more than 30,000 people from the countryside here as well as city people, according to some sources of information) defend him, the members of the opposition, whom the president calls "putschists," act against him.

Despite the state of emergency in Tbilisi, although without a curfew, and the general mobilization of citizens between 21 and 50 years of age, the tension has not abated; in fact it is mounting.

The television and radio are virtually out of action, and only rarely are official announcements broadcast. Not one central paper is being published. The official sources of information are republic Supreme Soviet organ SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA, VECHERNIY TBILISI, and some other publications with smaller circulations. There are food problems in the city and the stores are bereft of essential goods. The academic year in schools has not started yet and it is not known when classes will resume.

The television and radio department building is protected by guardsmen who have gone over to the opposition side. The approaches to it are blocked by trucks filled with sand or gravel, and there are armored transporters there, together with guns, barrels lowered, though.

At dusk on 26 September there was another rally. When I got to it Nodar Natadze, chairman of the "Democratic Center" deputies' group, was speaking. According to the translation given to me by a Georgian architect and restorer who wished to remain anonymous, for obvious reasons, Natadze repeated the opposition demands: The president should resign and the rural inhabitants should go home and the guardsmen loyal to Zviad Gamsakhurdia should go back to where they are permanently stationed. But one of the main demands is for a session of the Supreme Soviet, to be relayed on television. Incidentally, a day earlier parliamentary chairman A. Asatiani had said in connection with this demand that the deputies cannot work under pressure from two sides.

According to the information I obtained at the rally, the impression is that most of the intelligentsia is on the opposition's side. As well as the television and radio department, the circus and some of the university lecture halls are controlled by opponents of Gamsakhurdia.

The other day, addressing a rally at the concert hall, well-known director Georgiy Shengelaya said that the intelligentsia are opposed to the escalation of enmity and hatred. But Vakhtang Kikabidze said with anguish in his voice that his city had turned "into a city of rallies and demonstrations."

The rally at the concert hall took place in the evening and there was a vast crowd. On the night of 25 September there was bloodshed at the building of the Tbilisi Electrical Networks Administration, now the "TELASI" firm. The president accused the opoposition of wanting to deprive the city of power. At the same time, the firm's director, "Dzhemal" Bibeleishvili, told a SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA correspondent that "lighting in the city or even in a section of the city cannot be switched off by pressing a button here."

Rumor is rife in the city, of course. There is talk of possible sabotage on public transport and the subway. There are rumors about the imaginary involvement of Transcaucasus Military District troops in the current events. Zviad Gamsakhurdia said at a news conference that the army is allegedly acting in the interests of Eduard Shevardnadze, to bring him back to Georgia, and that the "putschists are acting on his instructions." In conversation with your PRAVDA correspondent, Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, rejected these accusations as groundless and said that the "Soviet Army will not confront the people of Georgia."

For a good part of the afternoon of 26 September there were talks in the residence of Catholicos and Patriarch of All Georgia Ilya II between the republic leadership and opposition representatives. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain information on the outcome of the talks.

According to official reports, at 2030 hours local time 26 September units of the national guard and militia units loyal to the government seized the headquarters of Tengiz Kitovani's guardsmen in the population center of Shavnabada without a shot being fired. At the same time, it is said that Kitovani is allegedly making noises about 60 guardsmen having been killed.

But the opposition denies that guardsmen were even present in the area. So, according to opposition forces' representatives, no one could have died there.

The most difficult thing in Tbilisi today is gaining access to reliable information.

Afanasyev Denies Gamsakhurdia Shevardnadze Remarks

PM2709203391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by A. Surmava: "Yuriy Afansayev Denies Zviad Gamsakhurdia Claim"]

[Text] There was a sensational statement at a Tbilisi rally:

"...The best sons of Russia, true democrats Afansayev and Bukovskiy, have ripped the masks of the pseudodemocrats—Gorbachev and Shevardnadze. It turns out that the 'white fox,' Shevardnadze, who portrayed himself as a hero, standing alongside Yeltsin on the platform, was in fact among the putschists. Now he stands accused of betraying democratic Russia. We also consider that he has betrayed democratic Georgia.

"There are demonstrations in Moscow demanding the arrest of the adventurist and putschist Shevardnadze..."

One might have taken it as a very bad joke, had it not been the words of Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, no less. But events in the republic have deteriorated so rapidly in recent days that the president is hardly inclined to joke. It is more likely that one of his informers was having a silly joke at his expense.

To finally dispel the doubts about the origin of the canard we turned to Yu. Afanasyev, who was named in the Tbilisi speech. Here is his comment:

"I said nothing of the sort, of course, nor could I have said it—either publicly or privately. I cannot imagine what might have sparked off the speculation. The events of 19-21 August will long serve as food for deep thought. There are things that are far from clear. But I would ask people to be particularly careful and meticulous about what they say. It is one thing to examine the actual facts and on that basis assess the various participants in the events, and quite another to substitute fiction and slander for the facts. I would place the statement you mentioned above in the fiction and slander category."

Instead of a sensation we have confusion. It always happens when the free press is not trusted and too much reliance is placed on unscrupulous assistants.

IZVESTIYA Cites Premier, Guards Commander

PM3009103191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent B. Urigashvili report under the general heading "Confrontation Increases in Georgia and Tajikistan—Tbilisi: Shots Fired, But Mainly in the Air"]

[Excerpts] An appeal from 50 Georgian Supreme Soviet deputies to President Gamsakhurdia, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and opposition organizations was published 28 September. [passage omitted]

That evening B. Gugushvili, chairman of the Georgian Government, gave a news conference. He said that the authorities categorically insist on disarming the troop formations that have sided with the opposition. Only then, according to Gugushvili, can a session be convened and real dialogue be initiated with the opposition. When asked by journalists what will then happen to the opposition leaders whom the authorities have declared to be putschists, Gugushvili replied: "If they have no other crimes, the president will obviously display humanity."

Both sides are using the proven weapon of psychological warfare that is the spreading of rumors and statements by representatives of the authorities and the opposition about their superiority both in terms of equipment and manpower.

For instance, Vakhtang Kobaliya, commander of the guardsmen loyal to the president, said yesterday that it will take the 5,000 presidential troops no more than 20 minutes to liberate the television center from the invaders. According to Kobaliya, they have modern weapons, armored personnel carriers, tanks, helicopters, long-range communications, and video surveillance equipment.

Many observers, however, believe that this statement is a bluff. No one here has seen any tanks. According to opposition spokesmen, the president only has two armored personnel carriers and the three helicopters that the rebel guardsmen left at the Shavnabada base are in such a state that they simply cannot be flown. [passage omitted].

Update on Situation in South Ossetia

Roads Remain Blocked

LD2709164391 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 27 TASS—Situation in South Ossetia has been quiet for the last three days. No shootings were registered and no hostages were taken there.

Soviet interior troops representatives continue their peace talks with Georgian militants and Ossetian leaders, according to the press centre of the South Ossetian Information Committee.

Another possible reason for the improvement could be reaction to dramatic events in Tbilisi, where the opposition demands President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's resignation.

Humanitarian aid from North Ossetia is not arriving as all the roads to South Ossetia remain blocked. There are shortages of foodstuffs, medicines and petrol in the city of Tskhinvali.

The people of South Ossetia are discusiing their parliament's appeal to leave Georgia and become part of Russia.

'Intensive' Shelling of Tskhinvali

LD2809191591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] Alarming news has come in today from South Ossetia in the Republic of Georgia. Last night Tskhinvali, where the state of emergency was declared, was again subjected to an armed attack. The intensive shelling of the town was carried out by the Georgian militants from the southern, northern, and eastern sides. Flash points were situated on the outskirts of the Georgian villages of Zemo-Nikozi, Tamarasheni, (Krisi). Large caliber machine guns, grenade projectors, nonguided rocket propelled projectiles, air defense weapons, and 100mm guns were used. Some people were seriously injured. Among them are women and children. In the morning, the shelling of Tskhinvali continued from the Georgian village of Ergneti. The militants used all types of infantry weapons.

State of Emergency Extended

LD2809132291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1213 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi, 28 Sep (TASS)— The state of emergency and operation of the curfew in the town of Tskhinvali and Dzhavskiy Rayon in South Ossetia (Samachablo) have been extended for a further month in accordance with a decree issued by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the president of Georgia.

Published today, the document announces that the curfew regime applies from 2200 to 0700. These restrictions were originally introduced last December in connection with the exacerbation of the situation in the region and the armed clashes between the Georgian and Ossetian populations.

Gamsakhurdia Appoints New Defense Minister

AU2709135991 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 19 Sep 91 p 1

["Republic of Georgia Presidential Decree on the Appointment of Dzhoni Mikhaylovich Pirtskhalaishvili as Minister of Defense of the Republic of Georgia"; issued in Tbilisi on 17 September]

[Text] To appoint Major General Dzhoni Mikhaylovich Pirtskhalaishvili as minister of defense of the Republic of Georgia.

[signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

[dated] 17 September 1991. Tbilisi.

Request for Observer Status at CSCE Conference

LD2909102591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1526 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By correspondents Nikolay Vukolov, Andrey Krasnoshchekov, and Vitaliy Menshikov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)— At today's plenary session of the third meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, the joint chairman of the Soviet delegation, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuriy Deryabin, drew delegates' attention to the appeal from Vissarion Gugushvili, the prime minister of the Republic of Georgia, regarding the possibility of Georgia participating in the work of the Moscow meeting in the capacity of an observer. The relevant document was sent by the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers to the meeting's executive secretary.

The Soviet delegation at the meeting supported this appeal, basing its stance on the decrees of the extraordinary USSR Congress of People's Deputies about supporting the aspirations of USSR republics to be recognized as the subjects of international law. At the same time, Yuriy Deryabin noted, an indispensable condition in such a case is that the Republic of Georgia fully and unconditionally recognize all the obligations arising from the CSCE documents, including those regarding human rights and basic freedoms. "This is particularly important in the light of the current situation in the Republic, which the USSR leadership perceives with growing alarm," emphasized the Soviet diplomat. "We are also seriously concerned that everything which is happening in Georgia is being accompanied by actions which are violent in character, and which flout human rights and democratic freedoms." Regarding this, Yuriy Deryabin expressed the hope that the powerful potential of CSCE obligations would be used by Georgia in the name of the triumph of human rights and the underlying principles of democracy.

As the Irish representative, who chaired the session, reported, as a result of the unofficial consultations which he held with all the delegations, it became clear that there was no consensus on the issue in question. Therefore, the Georgian request was not satisfied.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Favors Union Participation

NC2909145391 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2100 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN paper has published the [Supreme Soviet] address by Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan, which he presented as part of his presidential election campaign manifesto. The address touches on Armenia's participation in Union structures and generally on the relationship between the center and the republic.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan notes: I am convinced that recognition of Armenian independence would come easier if we participated in Union structures rather than ignoring them. This is because participation would enable Armenia once more to become a leading defender of the progressive movement in the Soviet Union, and would bolster its prominent status as a political partner. This is one of the important guarantees for securing recognition of our independence. I am sure this will be received with understanding everywhere, for in this way Armenia would show that while becoming a genuinely independent state, it also could participate in restructuring and prevent all of mankind from being endangered by the ruins of the empire. International interests and those of our people require that the empire's dismantlement be bloodless, smooth, and civilized, the Supreme Soviet chairman stressed. He concluded by saying: This is my approach. This will be my policy. I will struggle for the implementation of this trend of independence.

Supreme Soviet Passes Independence Law

OW2709164091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Armenia has passed a law on independence. The news agency SNARK says the law will actually serve as the republic's constitution during the transitional period.

The new law says Armenia has the right to own a share of the USSR national wealth, including part of its gold, diamond and monetary reserves, irrespective of the country on whose territory they are situated.

Armenians outside the republic will be protected by the Armenian government.

Under the law, Armenia will have armed forces and a national security service of its own. Army service will be mandatory.

Parliament Cites Renewed Attacks

LD2709114491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0007 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 26 Sep (TASS)—The special commission of the Armenian Supreme Soviet for Karabakh today distributed a statement in connection with the fresh exacerbation of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh. The statement emphasizes that this has happened after the agreements on settling the Karabakh problem and the immediate cessation of the use of force, which were reached as a result of the talks of the top leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia and representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast with the participation of the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan. The Azerbaijan militia and Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] have carried out armed attacks on the oblast center, Stepanakert, and on Armenian villages, resulting in casualties among the peaceful Armenian population, including children, the document says.

In the opinion of the parliamentary commission, these actions from the Azerbaijani side "should be described as criminal acts sanctioned by the Azerbaijan leadership and aimed at disrupting the agreements reached in Zheleznovodsk, where the top leaders of that republic officially declared that they were in full control and command of the actions of their militia and OMON in Karabakh".

Six Presidential Candidates Registered

OW2809190191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission in Yerevan has officially registered only 6 of the 15 candidates willing to vie for the republic's presidency on October 16. IF's [INTERFAX'S] correspondent reports the ballot papers will contain the names of Paruir Ayrikyan, leader of the National Liberation Union; Rafael Kazaryan, head of the parliamentary committee on science, culture, education and the language; ex-premier Vazgen Manukyan; the Republican Party leader Ashot Navasardyan; parliamentarian and artist Sos Sarkisyan; and the present head of the republic's Supreme Soviet Levon Ter- Petrosyan.

The other candidates failed to collect the 15,000 signatures necessary for official registration, or else were late to file the required documents.

Ex-premier Vazgen Manukyan is known to have announced his withdrawal from the presidential race, but is yet to officially inform the Central Electoral Commission of his decision.

Former Communists Form Democratic Party

PM2709124191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report from PRAVDA-TASS-RIA roundup under the general heading: "Around the Country"]

[Text] The founding conference of the Armenian Democratic Party [ADP] has been held in Yerevan. It was set up by former Communists who decided to abandon Communist ideology. It was said at the meeting that the new party will be a social-democratic party. The ADP's draft program and rules were adopted and a council and party chairman elected. Aram Sarkisyan, former first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, is the ADP's chairman.

Difficulties Over Debt Repayment Noted

OW2709210591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Well placed sources in Armenian government circles have informed "Interfax" correspondents that Armenia's foreign debt comes to $384 Million, 0.04 of the total Soviet foreign debt.

The major creditor countries are in the Middle East and European states, particularly Germany. According to these sources, the debt is not considered excessively high but nevertheless it will be extremely difficult for Armenia to repay, her foreign currency reserves amounting to little more than $20 million. The question of postponing payments has arisen.

The economic situation in Armenia is in general extremely difficult. The budget deficit is at present running at over one milliard roubles and the direct external debt to other union republics stands at 628 million roubles. Neither is inflation falling: In comparison with last year it has risen by 328 .

A severe shortage of cash is being felt. In this connection banks are paying out salaries only, which is making life difficult for the credit banks of which there are 32 in Armenia. The absence of clearly defined laws on demonopolisation, on banks and on external economic activity only serves to aggravate the problem. The law on the transfer of land and property is as yet incomplete. And if the population releases into circulation the 10 million roubles of savings that at present are sitting in savings bank accounts the situation will become completely catastrophic. There will be hyperinflation.

Having rejected the economic programme developed by the Soviet specialists (Yavlinskiy, Shatalin and Saburov), the Armenian government has adopted the "Tiger" programme, developed by the Dutch, who had previously participated in the recovery of the Hungarian economy. The programme runs for ten years and will come into effect from 1992.

Economic Relations With Turkey Established

OW2709183491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting took place in Yerevan yesterday (26th September) between the acting president of the Armenian Council of Ministers, Grant Bagratyan, and the deputy secretary of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, Ismet Birsel. Bagratyan was appointed in place of Vazgen Manukyan who resigned recently as prime minister.

At the meeting he announced that Armenia had a wide range of opportunities of trading out on the international markets and was interested in establishing mutually advantageous bilateral economic and commercial links with neighbouring states.

The two sides decided to establish a bilateral commission to prepare the necessary documents for the conclusion of an agreement on the joint use of railway and road routes, cross-border trade and the opening of new customs points.

Expanded Links Sought

LD3009053691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1426 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Sep (TASS)—Ambassador Ismet Birsel, deputy secretary of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, has come out in favor of the establishment in the near future of interstate relations with Armenia. Visiting the republic as head of an official delegation of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, he stated that his country regards it as very important to work out joint economic programs and establish mutually beneficial ties with Armenia. It is the Turkish diplomat's view that the establishment of such ties will be the first step toward the recognition by Turkey of Armenian independence. As has already been reported, as a result of the secession referendum held in Armenia on 21 September, an overwhelming majority of the population of the republic came out in favor of Armenia's independence. Ismet Birsel stated that the Turkish side was already ready to sign treaties with Armenia concerning the use of rail and motor vehicle roads, cross border trade and the opening of new customs posts. The Turkish guests have had a meeting with Grant Bagratyan, acting chairman of the Council of Ministers of Armenia, who noted the republic's positive attitude toward developing economic and trade ties with neighboring countries. The bilateral political contacts between Armenia and Turkey became livelier after the April 1991 visit to Yerevan by Turkish Ambassador to Moscow Vulkan Vural, the first such visit in the past 70 years.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Calls For National Unity

LD2809152991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1228 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] Baku, 28 Sep (AZERINFORM-TASS)—In an address to the nation, which was published in today's republican newspapers and carried on radio and television, [Azerbaijan President] Ayaz Mutalibov called on his compatriots for unification and consolidation "at a time when Azerbaijan's fate is being determined."

"Our parliament," he noted, "has declared the restoration of Azerbaijan's state independence. We are in a transition period, however, toward full independence and sovereignty. And it would be an error to hope that decrees and legal documents alone will ensure the possibility of traveling this path. We must altogether get down to practical deeds and implement radical reforms in all spheres of life."

He went on to say: The times demand the working out of a system of new economic and political ties with other countries; and inside the republic—of long-term comprehensive economic and social programs.

Concluding the address, Mutalibov noted that the Nagorno-Karabakh problem had inflicted colossal damage to the Azerbaijan and Armenian peoples and had diverted their attention from resolving important economic and social problems. Having estimated at its true worth the initiative of Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Kazkhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who acted in a mediating mission to establish peace between the two union republics, he expressed the hope that their meetings in Azerbaijan and Armenia and the communique on the results of their negotiations will not remain without results.

Aliyev Views Nakhichevan-Armenia Relations

OW2809010991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2015 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Telephone interview with Geydar Aliyev by unidentified correspondent on 20 September: "Geydar Aliyev: We Are Interested in Cooperation With Russia"; from the "Nation and Society" feature; first two paragraphs are INTERFAX introduction; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Geydar Aliyev headed Azerbaijan's Communist Party for 13 years (1969-1982). Relieved of his duties as the 1st Secretary of the Central Committee and membership of the Political Bureau (December 3, 1982) he virtually disappeared from the political scene until September 3, 1991 he was elected chairman of the Supreme Majlis (parliament) of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

INTERFAX correspondent had a telephone talk with him September 20 about the status and economic prospects of the republic.

Corr.: How do you see the future of Nakhichevan? Will it be an autonomous republic in Azerbaijan or an independent republic, or something else?

G. Aliyev: The Nakhichevan autonomous republic is a constituent part of Azerbaijan. It has an autonomous status under both the USSR and Azerbaijanian Constitutions. I would also like to remind of the fact that in its time the autonomy was set up under the international treaty of 1927 between Russia, Turkey, and the Azerbaijanian republic. Thus, Nakhichevan has its status under international law.

Today, I repeat, it is an autonomous republic within Azerbaijan and I hope it will remain so.

Corr.: What is the situation in the republic today?

G.A.: I was elected Sept. 3, and on the 7th the session of the Supreme Majlis was over. That 5-day session of the Nakhichevan parliament substantially changed the political situation in the republic. Formerly it had a sharp conflict between democratic and partocratic forces. After certain organisational measures—electing chairman of the Supreme Majlis among them—the tension was eased. On my recommendation a member of the People's Front was elected Prime Minister of Nakhichevan. Two other members of the People's Front were made his deputies. That stabilized the internal political situation, but the external situation remained tense. The fact that the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic is acting independently, not bowing to the dictate of the Azerbaijanian leadership, and that it refused to take part in the election of the Azerbaijanian President, met with a sharply negative response of Azerbaijan's leadership. In fact, we have no link with it.

Further, we have complicated relations with Armenia which surrounds the Nakhichevan autonomy on three sides. We border on Iran and Turkey in the South, apart from that—Armenia is all around. And we had an incident which poisoned the atmosphere, as we informed you: two shepherds were killed and some livestock driven away in the Ardubad district. The Ardubad People's Front countered by stopping the passenger train from Kafan to Yerevan. I was approached by Ter-Petrosyan concerning that—we kept up a telephone link and talked nearly every day. But the conditions we arranged for letting the train through were not honoured by the Armenian side and the situation aggravated further.

Corr.: Now a question from another field. What branches of economy are you going to develop in Nakhichevan? Are you staking on foreign capital, from Iran and Turkey, shall we say?

G.A.: Nakhichevan has little industry, but rich nature and agriculture. It has many curative mineral springs. Turkey, Iran, and other countries are quite interested in those springs—very rare and effective. We are building a bridge between Nakhichevan and Turkey—that will improve transport to Turkey, and from there we can get out to other countries.

Yes, we are staking on foreign capital. We are prepared for active privatization. We are determined to declare Nakhichevan a zone of free enterprise. We welcome foreign investments from anyone wishing to offer them.

Corr.: Which republics of the present of former Soviet Union is Nakhichevan particularly interested in cooperating with?

G.A.: It's hard to develop cooperation with Armenia. We can't have extensive economic relations with Georgia due to similarity of our natural resources. Nakhichevan specializes in vineyards producing about 100,000 tons of grapes a year. We have certain medicinal herbs valuable for pharmacy. That turns our interests more to Russia with its vast space for economic contacts. Our cooperatives are doing brisk barter trade with Russia.

Corr.: With Yeltsin and Nazarbayev trying to settle the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, what, do you think, can be their role and how can the dispute be settled?

G.A.: I don't know their programme. I telephoned Boris Yeltsin recently, but missed him—he had left for the airport. I meant to invite him to Nakhichevan too, since we also have friction with Armenia. What can Yeltsin and Nazarbayev do? Frankly, their's is a hard mission. Let's hope Yeltsin will use his authority and influence to help settle that conflict—the situation admits of no delays. I feel it here, in Nakhichevan, every day. All the people feel it.

But it was possible, after all, for people to live here in peace and amity not so long ago. I think the mission of Yeltsin and Nazarbayev is of tremendous importance. I expect it to yield some positive result.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonoumous Oblast

Yerevan Radio Reports on Azerbaijani Attacks

NC2909152191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2100 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] According to reports from Stepanakert, it appears that some Azerbaijani circles are extremely eager to undermine the movement toward solving the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and to denigrate the joint communique by the four republics' leaders.

The outskirts of Stepanakert came under periodic automatic fire from various positions the night of 26-27 September. USSR Internal Affairs Ministry units advanced with armored cars and returned fire on those positions, suppressing them.

Children heading for school and other people were fired upon this morning in Kirkidzhan town. Garik Balasanyan, 14, and Vagan Karibyan, 25, were injured. Nikolay Grigoryan, 27, was killed near (?Dichiyan) village under unknown circumstances.

The previous day, Karintak village came under continuous fire 2030-2300 from the direction of Shusha. Two houses were burned.

Attacks Seen as Undermining Joint Communique

NC2809103191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Reports from Nagorno-Karabakh indicate that one of the hostages being kept in Agdam has been killed. The talks with Azerbaijani officials on the 14 hostages taken from Yerevan-Kapan train have produced no results [word indistinct].

According to unofficial data, more than 250 Armenian hostages are currently being held in Azerbaijan. The republic's prosecutor general has published a list of 15 people who will stand trial in Baku for defending their native homes.

(?One gets the impression) that the vigorous military operations undertaken by the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment in Nagorno-Karabakh were planned beforehand in response to the Zheleznovodsk communique. The artillery shelling of Stepanakert, and Karachinar and Manashid villages in Shaumyanovskiy rayon continue. According to reports from Nagorno-Karabakh, groups of 20 men dressed in Azerbaijani militia uniform and carrying automatic weapons are operating there daily. The formation of brigand organizations are continuing. The joint communique specifically called for their disbandment. The organizers of these provocations are trying in every way possible to disparage the mission of Yeltsin and Nazarbayev.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Continues Official Visit to Turkey

Discusses Relations With Ozal

LD2809221891 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The official talks between the Kazakh delegation led by Republican President Nazarbayev and the Turkish leader resumed in the capital of Turkey today. The talks between Turkish President Turgut Ozal and the leader of Kazakhstan included discussion of the development of Soviet-Turkish relations. They also touched on international and regional problems.

During the course of negotiations, particular attention was drawn to questions of the further development of historical, economic, and cultural relations between Kazakhstan and the Republic of Turkey. [passage omitted]

After concluding the official talks, the presidents of the Kazakh and Turkish Republics signed a declaration on the principles of relations between Kazakhstan and Turkish republic, a memorandum of intent, and agreements in the fields of transportation and telecommunications. An agreement on cooperation in the fields of trade, economy, science, and technology between the governments of Kazakhstan and the Turkish Republic was signed by the Turkish Finance and Customs Minister Kahveci, and Kazakhstan Foreign Economic Relations Minister Abishev.

Today, President Nazarbayev and his retinue visited the Ataturk Mausoleum and Museum, where the distinguished guests placed a wreath and signed the visitors' book. [passage omitted: reports by various Turkish mass media]

In the afternoon, President Nazarbayev and his retinue left Ankara for Izmir, where they will be acquainting themselves with a number of Turkish enterprises and meeting with Turkish businessmen.

Meets Izmir Governor

LD2809033691 Moscow TASS in English 2157 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Istanbul September 28 TASS—Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev is on an official visit in Turkey.

On Friday [27 September] the Kazakh president visited an industrial enterprise in Izmir and familiarised himself with the manufacture of a number of consumer goods. He had a substantive conversation with the governor of Izmir. Nazarbayev also visited one of the world's most ancient cities, Ephesus.

On the same day President Nazarbayev arrived in Istanbul.

Comments on Cooperation Pacts

LD2909153591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] The official visit to Turkey by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev ended today. He told a TASS correspondent that the documents on cooperation that had been signed created real opportunities for deepening and widening links between the peoples of the two countries. They would help to integrate the modern technology that Turkey has into the Kazakh economy and help it switch to an open market economy more rapidly.

First Stage of Privatization Program Launched

PM2709134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Vladimir Ardayev report under the "Direct Link" rubric: "Privatization Program Approved"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev has approved in a special resolution a program for the first stage of destatization and privatization of state property and a statute on a coupon mechanism for the privatization of state property in the republic.

The first stage of the program, designed for 1991-1992, provides for the destatization and privatization of enterprises and organizations in trade, public catering, and consumer and municipal services and small enterprises in industry, construction, motor transport, agriculture, and other sectors, as well as the destatization of the housing stock. A start will be made on the destatization of medium and large enterprises in various sectors of the national economy with the creation of collective enterprises, joint-stock companies, partnerships, etc. Low-profit and loss-making enterprises will primarily be destatized.

It is also proposed to use forms such as auctions, competitions, and share issues. Active use will be made of the coupon mechanism. The projects not to be privatized include public education, health care, and communications establishments, projects in power generation and electrification, geology and the conservation of minerals, culture, television and radio broadcasting, and a number of other departments. The processes of destatization and privatization are to be given state support.

Central Asian Republics To Discuss Common Market

LD2809043691 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Murat Buldekbayev]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 27 TASS—Business people in the Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan favour creating a Central Asian common market at state level.

Participants in a meeting in Alma-Ata today decided to form a regional coordinating economic council.

They passed an appeal and a statement, admitting that the republics' leadership supported business activities. They also expressed concern over strict taxes and customs restrictions and arbitrariness by local executive bodies.

The documents note that business people are ready to cooperate with the parliaments and governments of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, rather than with ministries.

Guests Arrive in Alma-Ata for Space Launch

OW2809160791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For the first time in the 40 years since the Baikonur cosmodrome was built on Kazakh soil, a Kazakh astronaut will be launched into space on October 2. Heads of state from all the ex-Soviet republics have been invited to attend take-off celebrations. Kazakhstan's leadership means to use the occasion for opening talks on a package of vitally important problems, primarily on the country's transition to a market economy. Given mutual understanding on the matter, the negotiating parties may work out a set of principles to underly the inter-republican economic agreements for next year, agree on the free flow of goods from one republic to another, and look for a commonly acceptable pricing policy and for ways of normalizing the ruble's circulation after the introduction of republican currencies.

According to the press service of the Kazakh president, the talks will open early on October 1 and be crowned with a joint news conference in the evening. On the morning of October 2 the guests will be flown to Baikonur to watch the take-off of a spaceship carrying a Kazakh-Austrian crew.

The leaders of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are [have] yet to confirm their participation. The Lithuanian leader Vytautas Landsbergis has said he is ready to meet with President Nursultan Nazarbayev, but only for bilateral talks.

Kyrgyzstan

Republic To Seek Status as 'Developing Country'

LD2809092891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] Kyrgyzstan intends to acquire the official international status of a developing country. This information is published in the PROLOG weekly. International gradation puts this country into a group of countries with a low income between $300 and $800 per person a year. I would like to note that such countries as India, Pakistan, Egypt, and Indonesia are members of this group.

Quota, Export-Import Measures Adopted

OW3009040191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2155 GMT 29 Sep 91

[From "Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government in the Soviet Central Asian Republic of Kyrgyzstan this month has adopted a package of measures regulating quotas, export-import licensing, the opening of branches of foreign companies and the operation of joint ventures there.

Under the cabinet resolution, Kyrgyzstan's foreign trade committee will be in charge of quotas and licence-issuing. There are three types of licences: one-time, general, and brokerage. Each is valid for 12 months and granted within 30 days since the date of application.

Licences can be obtained through auctions or tenders, or in any other way ensuring equal rights to all contestants, but prior announcements must made in the press.

The cost of a licence is $50 or its equivalent in other convertible currencies and that for barter trade is in rubles at the existing exchange rate.

The cabinet outlined the list of goods and services subject to licensing by the Foreign Trade Committee. This also includes locally produced raw materials and foodstuffs, but their exports depend on the republic's subquota in the central quota. These are grain, cotton, coal, nonferrous metals, fertilisers, metal scrap, natural gas, timber, and crude oil.

However, some of the export and import products are subject to coordination with foreign trade agencies in Moscow. These include weapons and ammunition, military hardware, nuclear materials, equipment and technologies, precious metals, their alloys or products made from them, special materials or technologies which can be used for the production of weapons or drugs.

The Soviet foreign trade ministry is to continue in charge of this year's licensing for:

—export-import operations to settle accounts with other countries.

—exports in the framework of bilateral agreements with the EEC on regulating textile trade.

New Regulations for Joint Ventures in Kyrgyzstan

Under the local cabinet's resolution of September 16, Kyrgyzstan's Finance Ministry is authorised to register joint ventures, international agencies, and companies or their branches.

Registration is made within 30 days since the date of application by one of the partners which must be accompanied by copies of the investment licence, the partnership's agreement and rules, its economic and technical feasiblity, and expertise. Other papers needed include the authorisation by the local council and a foreign bank guarantee of the foreign partner's financial standing.

In the event of any amendments in the founding papers of a mixed company, the Finance Ministry must be informed within 15 days and appropriate documents submitted if necessary.

Registration can be suspended or turned down if:

—the founding papers provide for operations or provisions running counter to the republican legislation.
—the appropriate licence has not been obtained.

Foreign companies and banks can open their branches in the republic following authorisation by the Finance Ministry. The cabinet's resolution of September 16 stipulates that the Soviet Union's and Kyrgyzstan's traditional foreign partners must be given a priority in obtaining permits for opening their branches in the republic. This also covers government-to-government agreements signed by the republic.

Foreign companies can open their branches for a period needed to implement their goals, but extension is needed after a three year period.

Following information must be submitted to the Foreign Trade Committee by a foreign bank, company, or agency when opening a branch in the republic—its standing (and on request—its assets, a letter of recommendation from its bank and so on) and business contacts with Soviet and local companies, including its deals in Kyrgyzstan (the nature, cost, and term of the agreement).

The branch's operation can be terminated if:

—the permit has expired and no application for extension is made.
—the foreign company is liquidated.
—the government-to-government agreement under which the branch is opened is no longer valid.
—the branch is found to violate the terms of its operations in the republic.

Tajikistan

Emergency Session Over Dushanbe, Overview of Events

News Conference

LD2709200791

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 27 September carries a 60-minute recording of the news conference held at the hall of conferences of the Tajik Supreme Soviet by Rakhmon Nabiyevich Nabiyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, and others participating in the emergency session of the Tajik Supreme Soviet. The news conference was opened by (Makhmud Dzhon Shakhbuddinov), head of the press center of the Tajik Supreme Soviet.

After introductory comments by (Shakhbuddinov), Nabiyev begins an opening speech in which he welcomes guests and journalists. After apologizing for not being able to hold a news conference before, Nabiyev says: "I was just told that you watched the film on what took place in Dushanbe and why it was necessary to convene an extraordinary session of the Tajik Supreme Soviet." He says that people must know that there are those "demanding the resignation of the legally elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet."

Nabiyev notes: "Now it is necessary for us to analyze by very careful means the path taken in the years of perestroyka and the state of affairs in the economy. This means analyzing the situation in industry, capital construction, communications, transport, and agriculture, so as to see our society in real terms with all its complications and all its potential. We can then define where we are, where we are going, all our tasks, and the urgent tasks that we should tackle in the near future. When we have defined the outstanding tasks and our prospects, we can then improve the results in the national economy and thus the living standard for the Tajik people. But there are also other questions. I think that soon we will sit once again around the table and tackle our internal problems."

Nabiyev then appeals to the leaders of all countries represented by the journalists to recognize the independent Republic of Tajikistan. He asks all Union republics and the Baltic republics to recognize Tajikistan as an independent republic. The floor is then opened to questions.

To a question from the correspondent of the journal TAJIKISTAN as to why Nabiyev has not yet announced his departure from the Communist Party of Tajikistan, why there has not been calm in Tajikistan for over two years, and why, in a republic with 5 million people, there are not cadres other than Nabiyev and Makhkamov, Nabiyev states: "As you know, the Communist Party does not exist now. The congress was held. There is no Communist Party. They have declared a socialist party. If you read the newspaper of the union of journalists, SUKHAN, at the beginning of the month, I gave an interview in which I stated that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet cannot be a member of the leadership of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. Now we have a Communist Party [corrects himself]—a socialist party—a democratic party, and, although not registered, the Islamic Party. I think that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the president, should not be in any one party."

Answering the second part of the question, he says: "Of course there are others than Makhkamov and myself, but you know that today I was elected. Concerning the opinion of other collectives, I would simply ask that those present, comrades and foreign guests, visit more often the collectives. Get to know from the working collectives what kind of opinion there is."

A SOYUZ reporter notes the joining of six shaykhs in Tajikistan to the 39 hunger strikers in Freedom Square. The reporter says there may be 100,000 followers devoted to each shaykh. If anything should happen to the shaykhs, he says, the consequences could be serious. He asks what measures Nabiyev is taking to get them to end their hunger strike. Nabiyev states: "The day before yesterday we met. There were about eight people. We talked for two hours on this subject. We then talked with reporters separately. Yesterday or the day before I talked for a long time. We should sit at the discussion table and tackle our internal problems. Can it really be that we cannot sit together and decide? Why do we need hunger strikes? I ask these comrades once again to sit at the discussion table."

To a question on whether a certain group of people are using him to implement their own plans, Nabiyev states: "I have already said that the reason for convening the extraordinary session was the events you saw on the film. For me, all this was absolutely unexpected. You know that I was the first candidate nominated for president. You know this; you know the publications. At the moment it is difficult for me, but a large number of collectives, working collectives, from practically all regions of the republic, proposed me."

Answering a question from the Arabic newspaper "AL-KHAYAT" on why a state of emergency was declared and why the opposition says that this is tied to the free elections on 27 October, Nabiyev states: "You have seen the film. Unfortunately, I have not seen the film. I have seen the events on television. Is it possible to act like that? You must understand what they say about us, about the Tajiks, who have such an ancient culture. I think this was the first reason for the convening of the extraordinary session." He adds that Comrade Aslonov admitted to neglecting his duties and to shortcomings and had asked to resign.

A correspondent from IAN asked Nabiyev why he was distant from politics for six years. The correspondent says Nabiyev's use of the term work collectives is reminiscent of the past. The correspondent then asks Akbarsho Iskandarovich Iskandarov, who chaired the emergency session, if his signature is on the decision to introduce a state of emergency. Iskandarov states: "You know that I chaired the session. It is well known to you how the session progressed. When the resignation of the Supreme Soviet chairman was approved and the new chairman had not yet been elected, I was chairing the session, so I consulted lawyers, who said that I ought to sign, that no one other than me could sign this document. With this understanding, I signed this decision, on the basis that the person chairing ought to sign and implement it. I implemented the wishes of the deputies. The majority of deputies voted for this proposal. As for my personal opinion, I think that this should be discussed once again." He adds that he thinks that "through talks, it can be clarified and possibly revoked."

A reporter from POSTFAKTUM agency questioned Nabiyev on why, on 26 September, Davlat Khudonazarov announced that 40 votes were missing and many deputies were not informed, and that communist deputies voted for by proxy for those absent during the voting for the introduction of the state of emergency. The reporter also questions the health of Nabiyev. The reporter asks: "Which of these outstanding politicians is closest to you: Pinochet, [name indistinct], Mussolini, Stalin, Ceaucescu, Brezhnev, or Yanayev? Whose fate interests you most: Makhkamov, Pugo, or Ceaucescu?" Dzhabor Abdulsatorovich Dadzhaborovich answers the first part of the question, stating that 154 votes by deputies are sufficient and that 193 deputies participated. Nabiyev answers the question on his health, stating that he is fit and simply did not have the time to read his appeal, which was read by a television newsreader. Nabiyev does not address the last part of the question.

Nabiyev then answers the question of a reporter on whether he would give the opposition time on television and radio. Nabiyev states: "I currently do not define the time. They have not made such a proposal." He wants to know who has approached him on this.

The news conference then draws to a close.

Civil Disobedience Continues

PM2609172991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondents A. Karpov and A. Protsenko: "Opposition Representatives Declare Hunger Strike in Dushanbe"]

[Text] Dushanbe—More tents have appeared in Dushanbe's Freedom Square during the past 24 hours. Twenty people have begun a hunger strike.

As Chief Justice—head of the republic's Muslims—A. Turadzhon-zoda reported, six of the most authoritative religious figures in Tajikistan will start a political hunger strike in the square Friday morning. They include the chief justice's father.

Another trouble spot, the Radio House, in additon to the square outside the Supreme Soviet, has appeared in Dushanbe. The opposition forces' supporters picketing the building are demanding the immediate resignation of state television and radio committee chairman O. Sayfullayev, who is actively preventing democrats from going on the air to present their platform. The information blockade appears more than strange when you consider that the capital and the entire republic are awash with all manner of rumors (efforts are being made to intimidate people with the threat of an Islamic fundamentalist offensive).

"They are even calling me at home, asking me anxious questions," USSR People's Deputy D. Khudonazarov said at an opposition leaders' news conference. "Basically, the Russian-speaking population is worried, of course. But we democrats do not have the opportunity to appear on television in our own republic and reassure people. In the end I had to fly to Moscow to address my compatriots on Central Television."

Incidentally, further evidence has emerged that the opposition does not intend to turn Tajikistan into an Islamic republic. The chief justice, head of the Muslims, stated that he was withdrawing his candiacy for the post of president of Tajikistan. Answering journalists' questions, Turadzhon-zoda said: "The main thing is that there should be no more communist authority in our republic. And there will be none. The people will not allow it. But it is important now that the change of government should take place in a peaceful, nonviolent way."

The situation in the republic, however, remains tense. The official authorities have adopted a wait and see position. So far no specific program to resolve the crisis has been presented to the population. At the same time, the opposition is stepping up the pressure on the ruling structures. Shodmon Yusupov, chairman of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, told journalists that unless in the next few days acting republic president R. Nabiyev and the Supreme Soviet meet the demands of the rally participants, the opposition will call on its supporters to start a campaign of civil disobedience throughout Tajikistan and launch an indefinite political strike. At the same time, the number of hunger strikers in the square will increase.

The opposition's demands are as follows: The Supreme Soviet must resume work and revoke the decisions it took 23 September. This means that the decree banning the republic Communist Party and nationalizing its property must come into effect, while K. Aslonov, who issued the decree and was removed for that reason, must be reinstated as acting president of the republic. Nabiyev, naturally, would have to vacate the post and start an election campaign for the presidency as an ordinary candidate.

A "third way" out of the crisis emerged at the last minute. The Dushanbe airmen, the local Afghanistan veterans' organization, and labor collectives of some enterprises suggested that the opposing sides meet at the negotiation table.

Demonstrators Continue To Gather

LD2709130191 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Lazzat Delovarzod from Ozodi Square in Dushanbe—recorded]

[Text] Ignoring the declaration of a state of emergency, participants in the gathering are speaking at Ozodi Square in bad, rainy weather today. New groups are arriving to support the participants, and the size of the crowd is increasing. We have relayed their demands through the republic radio. Today we asked (Mirzonurughli) to talk about the mood of the participants.

[(Mirzonurughli)] The mood today is very positive. We have first tried to provide food, tea, water, and bread, and fortunately that has been (?sufficient). Discipline and order have been excellent. You can see for yourself that everything is ordered and disciplined, and the speeches that are being made are courteous. Our sisters and mothers who have come here are sitting off to one side and in many other places, and they are calm. The demands of the people are legitimate. Why? (?Last night) we invited all law specialists and lawyers we trust, and after serious analysis [word indistinct]. (Tolib Ayubzod) outlined the lawyers' view. The demands of the people have been made known. I am confident that if things continue this way, the republic will not see any calm.

Cabinet of Ministers Resolution

LD2609184491 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 26 Sep 91

["Resolution of the Tajikistan Cabinet of Ministers on Measures to Normalize the Social and Political Situation in Dushanbe City," dated 26 September]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan states that by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan dated 23 September 1991, a state of emergency has been introduced in Dushanbe city from 24 September 1991 until 1 January 1992.

One of the reasons for introducing the state of emergency was that Comrade Ikramov, chairman of the executive committee of the city of Dushanbe, violated the laws of the Republic of Tajikistan on protection of monuments and that, without the decision of the government authorities and the state administration of the republic, he signed a decision on dismantling the statue of Lenin in Ozodi Square, which was then implemented by representatives of a gathering from the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Rastokhez Popular Movement, and the unregistered Islamic Movement Party. The dismantling of Lenin's statue was done by violating recognized moral and ethical standards, with a display of barbarism and degradation toward the dismantled statue. It aroused anger and resentment among the people of the Republic when this barbaric vandalism was shown on television.

Regardless of the fact that gatherings have been banned in the conditions of the state of emergency, Comrade Ikramov is in fact one of the leaders of the gathering that continues in the Ozodi Square of Dushanbe city. With his direct assistance, participants in the gathering erected barricades in Lenin Road, which obstructed the movement of passenger transport in most parts of the city.

Under the leadership of Comrade Ikramov, on the night of 25 September, tents were erected in Ozodi Square, further complicating the situation in Dushanbe city.

With the aim of normalizing the social and political situation and insuring the necessary order in Dushanbe city, the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan resolves as follows:

1. All decisions of the Executive Committee of Dushanbe city signed by Comrade Ikramov from 21 September should be regarded as having no legal validity.

2. The executive committee of the city of Dushanbe, the executive committees of the rayons of the city of Dushanbe, ministries, and departments of the Republic of Tajikistan, and leaders of enterprises and institutions and organizations are dutybound not to implement any decision of Comrade Ikramov, chairman of the executive committee of the city of Dushanbe, as well as his oral instructions. Responsible officials who fail to implement this order will be liable to be taken to court or dismissed from their jobs in accordance with the order of the state of emergency.

3. It is agreed that during the period of the state of emergency, the emergency operations headquarters on solving economic issues of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan will be directing the economic activities of the republic's capital.

[signed] Khayeyev, premier of the Republic of Tajikistan;

Makhkamboyev, head of affairs of the Cabinet of Ministers of Tajikistan.

Ikramov Accused of Leading Rally

LD2709121591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] The Tajik Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a decision on measures to stabilize the sociopolitical situation in Dushanbe. The document points out that the main reason for introducing the state of emergency in the capital is the dismantling of the Lenin memorial in Freedom Square, which was carried out according to a decision of Maksud Ikramov, chairman of the Dushanbe Oblast Executive Committee, in violation of the law on protecting monuments which applies in the republic. Ikramov is also accused of leading the rally which is still going on in Freedom Square and the erection of barricades on Prospekt Lenina.

The Cabinet of Ministers has resolved not to recognize as having any legal power all the decisions of the Dushanbe City Executive Committee, signed by Ikramov, from 21 September until the present time. All officials, under fear of dismissal from office, should not fulfill Ikramov's instructions. During the period the state of emergency is in force, control over the activity of the Dushanbe City Soviet will be carried out by the operational headquarters of the republican Cabinet of Ministers.

Nabiyev Ready To Negotiate

OW2609222891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1840 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The current chairman of Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet Rakhmon Nabiyev has told a BBC correspondent in Dushanbe that he is ready to come to the negotiating table with the opposition any time, provided it put forward constructive proposals. Nabiyev is going to speak at a news conference on Friday at 22:00 local time (20:00 Moscow time). That would be followed by a round-table discussion with opposition representatives on the situation in the republic.

On Thursday the staff of the "Nonpaz" association warned that they would go on strike leaving the city without bread supplies if the situation in Dushanbe fails to return to normal.

The city council has failed to meet in session a second time to discuss the question of stripping city executive council chairman Maksud Ikramov of parliamentary immunity for his decision to remove the monument to Lenin. Ikramov says that this is a manifestation of the city council's support.

Nabiyev Dismisses Accusations

OW2709165491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a press conference held Friday in Dushanbe, Chairman of Tajikistan's Supreme Soviet Rakhmon Nabiyev dismissed the opposition's accusation that he had taken office in an undemocratic manner. According to Mr. Nabiyev, the opposition is seeking power and, to this end, is intensifying tension and fuelling passions.

Mr. Nabiyev called on the opposition leaders to prevent strikes as "it is the time to think now of harvesting, and people cannot be distracted from work.

The Tajik leader urged tolerance of political opponents and ruled out the use of force, including the military, the Interior Ministry and the KGB, to settle political differences.

On Friday the opposition leaders reiterated their readiness to have a round-table conference with Mr. Nabiyev and to tell him their opinion of how the situation in Tajikistan could be settled. However, they insist that the meeting must be broadcast by republican TV.

Lack of Support for Nabiyev Denied

LD2909144191 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Text] A telegram addressed to the radio station and signed by Dustmatov, Savreddinova, Abdusattorov, and Islameddinov—republican people's deputies from Isfara Rayon—and by Maksudov, Shahmirsaidov, Olimboyeva, Ganiyev, and Bakayev—people's deputies from the oblast council and Isfara City Council—as well as by a number of others, arrived today. It reads, in part: We, Isfara Rayon residents, are quite surprised by a 26 September central television report alleging that more than 7,000 Isfara residents have expressed no confidence in republican Supreme Soviet Chairman Rakhman Nabiyev. The report is a sheer lie. The fact is that 21 of the 26 large labor collectives—which have the right to nominate the president—held general meetings by 26 September and unanimously nominated Rakhman Nabiyev president. To date, more than 28,000 signatures have been collected at rayon level in support of Rakhman Nabiyev.

We, in the vision of Rakhman Nabiyev, see a man who has gathered around him all healthy forces and who will free the republic from this economic and political crisis, the telegram concludes.

State of Emergency Review Urged

LD2809211791 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Text] The Republic of Tajikistan Constitution Supervisory Committee has examined the issue of conformity with the resolution of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet dated 23 September 1991 on the declaration of a state of emergency in Dushanbe City. The study of this issue shows that in the Republic of Tajikistan, no law has been passed on the state of emergency. In the republic a specific basis for the declaration of a state of emergency does not exist. However, such bases have been mentioned in the USSR law on the legal regime of a state of emergency and in the international pact on the citizen and political rights.

Therefore, the resolution of the Republic of Tajikistan Supreme Soviet dated 23 September 1991 on the declaration of a state of emergency in Dushanbe City is not being implemented in practice and has not achieved it objectives. The resolution envisages limiting citizens' rights and freedoms, as well as limiting the functioning of some laws, and therefore it ought to conform with the constitution of Tajikistan. The solution of the issue of the resolution's conformity with the constitution of Tajikistan, and in view of the fact that the settlement of this [words indistinct] in accordance with the law of the Republic of Tajikistan on the Constitution Supervisory Committee requires specific time.

Therefore, with the aim of normalizing the social and political situation in the republic, the Tajikistan Constitution Supervisory Committee calls on the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet to once again comprehensively assess the objectives of maintaining the state of emergency in Dushanbe City.

Official Talks Begin

LD2809110291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1003 GMT 28 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 28 Sep (TASS)—Talks between the official authorities and representatives of the republic's opposition forces have started today in the capital of Tajikistan.

Among the opposition's main demands is the summoning of an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan. Members of the opposition consider that all "illegal resolutions" of the extraordinary session of the Tajik parliament on 23 September should be rescinded at such a session, including the resolution on introducing a state of emergency in the town of Dushanbe. The opposition demands the subsequent dissolution of parliament, and an investigation into the activities of Maksud Ikramov, the mayor of the town of Dushanbe, as well as a reexamination of the resolutions on dismantling the monument to Lenin in the main square of the Tajik capital.

Talks Continue

LD2909132391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 29 Sep 91

[Text] The talks between acting Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev and the opposition will continue today [29 September] at 1300. After the end of yesterday's round of talks, a news conference was given by Shodmun Yusupov, chairman of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, and chairman of the staff of those at the rally on Freedom Square. He stated that the talks have collapsed, as the Tajik leadership is incapable of putting forward a single constructive proposal. In his words, the proposals of the opposition did not receive any response, either.

On 28 September the number of those at the rally in front of the building of the Tajik Supreme Soviet on Freedom Square increased with every hour. A political hunger strike by representatives of the opposition is continuing, in which the leaders of the Islamic Sufi movement are participating.

Talks End, Agreement on Elections

LD2909173791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1630 GMT 29 Sep

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Talks between the republic's official leadership and the opposition ended in Dushanbe today. Members of Tajikistan's Council of Directors acted as mediator. They declared themselves to be a third force that had to be taken into account and behind which stand more than 140 of the city's enterprises. The final version of the agreement provides for the suspension of the activity of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and the nationalization of its property. A decision was also made to lift the state of emergency and to call elections for the president of the republic on 27 October.

Akayev Said To Support Opposition

LD2609140991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] The rally of several thousand people in the capital of Tajikistan, Dushanbe, is in its fifth day. Supporters of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Rastokhez Popular Movement, and the Islamic Rebirth Party are demanding the dissolution of the republic's procommunist legislature and the lifting of the state of emergency.

It has been learned that a conversation took place between opposition leaders and Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev, who expressed support for Tajikistan's democratic forces.

Democratic Leader on Opposition

OW2809191291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, addressed an opposition-sponsored news conference in Dushanbe on Friday [27 September] expressing Russia's concern over the developments in other republics. He said he had come to Dushanbe fearing that Tajik authorities might resort to "extreme measures" in a bid to stabilize the difficult situation and thereby endager the Russian- speaking population. He observed that the establishment of a democratic government in Tajikistan would remove fears of this kind, whereas restoration of communist rule would "cause Russia to take appropriate measures."

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports that the mass protest rally in Dushanbe's central square has continued for the seventh day running in spite of heavy rain. Residents have been supplying protesters with tents, blankets, polyethylene shields and food.

When some 30 policemen attempted to remove barricades from the building of the City Council on Friday, the crowd drove them away.

Rallies in support of the opposition have been held in the cities of Khorog, Kulyab, Pedjikent, Matcha, Isfara, and elsewhere.

Roundtable talks between the authorities and the united opposition have been under way in Dushanbe since Saturday morning.

Trade Union Issues Appeal Calling for Talks

LD2709231291 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] The Federation of Trade Unions and the central committees of the republican trade unions adopted an appeal to the parliament and all political parties and public movements of the Republic of Tajikistan.

It states: During these difficult days, we appeal to you. The destiny of the republic, the destiny of its people, and the future of our children will be decided. Meetings have taken the place of sense and discussion. Transport has been hindered, students are not studying, children are not going to school, and most of the enterprises are not working. The trade unions condemn the barbaric incidents that took place on 22 September and consider it undemocratic and an attempt to show force by the new political forces. By decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet a state of emergency was introduced in Dushanbe. All this consideralbly adds to the civil and public (?opposition).

In the opinion of the trade unions, the events of 21 and 22 September on Freedom Square and the progress of the session on 23 September are similar. All this is in the direction of the right—a blow answered by a blow. As a consequence, the achievement of accord in the relationships between the parties and [word indistinct] becomes impossible. The trade unions, being separate from all political parties, are prepared to cooperate with all political parties that protect the interests of the workers.

This is our demand. All the representatives of political parties and public movements should immediately sit at a table for discussions and reach an accord and not allow civil and public and conflict. We call on you all to think of the interests of the people and do not turn away from parliamentay struggle in your work and do not exchange it for meetings and not going to work. The trade unions call on you to observe the Constitution and follow legality and order. This is the only path toward democracy. We demand that the parliament of the republic and Supreme Soviet Chairman Nabiyev carefully analyze the situation in the republic and place the issue of the introduction of the state of emergency for reexamination and give a political (?aspect) to the situation in the republic. The path of talks is the only constitutional means to avoid public conflict. Choose this path.

'Internationalist' Troops Seek Talks

LD2709212191 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Appeal by "the internationalist soldiers and the youths of Dushanbe City to the peoples of the Republic of Tajikistan"—read by announcer]

[Text] We, the internationalist troops [troops who have served in Afghanistan] and the youths of the city, make this appeal to you—our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters:

In these difficult days for our republic, we beg you not to be deceived by seditious slogans, and to remain calm and dignified. Democracy cannot be achieved by a show of force, with the assistance of deceived people, or by exerting pressure by holding meetings. In these difficult days, we declare with the utmost sense of responsibility that we support the legally elected parliament of the republic. We call on all the veterans of the Great Patriotic War, the veterans of labor, the soldiers of Chernobyl, retired soldiers, the youths of Tajikistan, and all those people who support our position, to support us in safeguarding legality and order in the republic and the city of Dushanbe. In such a situation, problems should not be solved by a show of force as this is contrary to the principles of democracy and results in more resistance.

We call on all political and social parties and movements to leave resentment, claims, and quarrels to one side, and to sit at the negotiating table and become satisfied. The people of the republic expect this from you and demand this from you.

Youth Union Calls For Negotiations

LD2809214691 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 27 Sep 91

[Statement by the Organizational Committee of the Youths Union of Tajikistan—read by announcer]

[Text] The extreme intensification of resistance by political forces is a (?special case) in the present situation of Tajikistan. The Organizational Committee of the Youths Union of Tajikistan on this occasion states that the only way to happily solve all problems is through negotiations, by seeking peaceful ways, and by making efforts to understand each other's thinking. Therefore, we propose:

1. Political realities, including the authority of the Supreme Soviet of the republic in existence up to 20 September 1991, should be restored.

2. A special commission should be established from among the leaders and representatives of all political parties and social movements on the future fate of Vladimir Ilich Lenin's statue.

3. A coalition commission should be established, with parliamentary authority, to prepare the law on the election of people's deputies of the Republic of Tajikistan on a multi-party basis.

4. In December 1991, parallel with the new elections for the people's deputies of the Republic of Tajikistan, the election of the president of Tajikistan should also take place.

5. A roundtable should be convened within the next two to three days with the participation of Rakhman Nabiyev, Kadreddin Aslonov, Abdudzhabbor Takhir, Haji Akbar Turadzhanzada, Yusuf Shodmon, Shodi Shabdolov, Hematzada, Kurbonov, and representatives of the Youths Union of Tajikistan; and its progress should be broadcast live by radio and television.

We trust that ways of peace and compromise, benevolence, and ways toward restoring complete peace and tranquillity in the republic can be found, and we are ready to utilize all our power to this end.

Uzbekistan

President Karimov Signs Departyization Decree

PM2709125991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report from PRAVDA-TASS-RIA roundup under the general heading: "Around the Country"]

[Text] Uzbek President I.A. Karimov has signed a decree on departyizing the republic's organs of state power and management and the public education system. Henceforth organizational structures belonging to political parties and movements are not allowed to be set up within state apparatus organs, higher and secondary special educational establishments, vocational and technical colleges, and general schools on the territory of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Karimov Orders Demise of Republican KGB

OW2609165591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbek President Islam Karimov has ordered today, Thursday [26 September], a demise of the republic's Committee for State Security (KGB). Instead he is setting up a service of national security responsible directly to him. His decree describes the move as "aimed at better protection of the republic's territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, constitutional rights and civil freedoms".

The security service will be chiefly busy with intelligence and counter-intelligence, also with combating organized crime.

New 'National Security Service'

LD2809042491 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 27 Sep 91

[By UZTAG-TASS correspondent Irina Grebenyuk]

[Text] Tashkent September 27 TASS—A National Security Service, subordinated to the republican president, has replaced the KGB in Uzbekistan, according to a presidential decree by Islam Karimov. Gulam Aliyev, former republican KGB chief, is heading the new service.

The National Security Service will deal with intelligence, counterintelligence and fight organised crime. All former KGB departments which are not connected with these tasks and whose activities violate the republican constitution will be eliminated.

Muslims Rally Against Communists in Namangan

OW2809190591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 28 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A mass in the mosque of Namangan has developed into a rally of protest against Communist Party rule. Some 25,000 Muslims demanded that the activities of the CPSU or any of its successors be banned in Uzbekistan, and the Communist Party property be nationalized. Protesters urged President Islam Karimov to promote democracy and improve living standards.

Nasyr Zakir, leader of the local chapter of the Uzbekistani popular movement BIRLIK, announced his full support for the Muslim demands.

The rally sent a message of greeting to Dushanbe protesters against the restoration of communist rule in Tajikistan.